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OUTLINE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

EDITED BY W. M. MACKENZIE, M.A., F.S.A.

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BY JOHN BARBOUR

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A.D. 81 TO 1843

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BY

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PREFACE

RECENT developments, both national and educational, point to a revival of serious interest in Scottish history. This little book is intended as an aid in that direction. Its purpose is to provide an outline of the history of Scotland as history ; to do in brief compass what has been done exhaustively by the historians of many volumes. The writer has confined himself to the things that really mattered in building up the kingdom and shaping the fortunes of its people. He has sought also to tell the story as a whole, to keep touch with Highlands and Borders as well as with the central Lowlands ; to connect the course of events in Scotland, where needful, with the general drift of European history ; and to indicate the bearing of the facts on what is characteristic in the national evolution. For this purpose full use has been made of the large, and especially the more recent, histories ; but the original sources available have also been independently consulted, and every effort made to keep the matter abreast of the latest and most assured

results of special studies. The aim of the author as a whole has been to substitute a clearly written, coherent, and, it is hoped, interesting narrative not overburdened with names and dates, for the broken succession of ' merry tales ' and exaggerated episodes to which Scottish history on this scale has been reduced, and which has destroyed at once its popular interest and its educational value.

Note to Second Edition

The opportunity of reprinting has been taken advantage of to make a few slight modifications in the text, to rewrite the account of Bannockburn, and to supply an Index.

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SCOTLAND.

English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

SHETLAND ISLES
Lerwick
ORKNEY ISLES
Kirkwall
Half scale of Map

ATLANTIC OCEAN
INNER HEBRIDES
THE MINCH
LITTLE MINCH
SOUND OF MULL
FIRTH OF CLYDE
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
ENGLAND

C. Wrath
Pentland F.
Thurso
Halkirk
Wick
CAITHNESS
Ben Hope
SUTHERLAND
Ben More
L. Shin
Helmsdale
Brora
Golspie
Dornoch
Tain
Lairg
L. Broom
Ben Dearg
L. Maree
Ben Wyvis
Cromarty
Dingwall
ROSS
Moray Firth
Burghead
Banff
Kinnaird Hd.
Buckie
Fraserburg
Elgin
NAIRN
ELGIN
Peterhead
Buchan Ness
Inverness
Huntly
Strome Ferry
Ben Attow
Portree
Stornoway
LEWIS
HARRIS
N. UIST
S. UIST
BARRA
L. Torridon
L. Ness
Findhorn
R. Strathspey
R. Spey
R. Don
Aberdeen
R. Dee
Stonehaven
KINCARDINE
CANNA
RUM
EIGG
Sd. of Sleat
Ft William
Ben Nevis
L. Ericht
Grampian Mts
Garry
L. Rannoch
L. Tay
S. Esk
Montrose
FORFAR
Forfar
Arbroath
Dundee
PERTH
Perth
St. Andrews
Cupar
Anstruther
Kinross
L. Earn
L. Katrine
L. Lomond
Ben Ledi
Stirling
Kirkcaldy
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Linlithgow
EDINBURGH
HADDINGTON
Eyemouth
Berwick
BERWICK
GLASGOW
Pebbles
Tweed
Selkirk
Kelso
Jedburgh
ROXBURGH
Cheviot Hills
Langholm
Ayr
Troon
Irvine
Dalry
Lanark
Renfrew
R. Clyde
Arran
Campbeltown
Maybole
Mull of Cantire
Ardnamurchan Pt.
COLL
TIREE
STAFFA
MULL
Ben More
Oban
Inveraray
L. Awe
Firth of Lorn
COLONSAY
ISLAY
JURA
Sd. of Jura
Sd. of Islay
L. Ryan
Stranraer
WIGTOWN
Wigtown
KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Kirkcudbright
Dalbeattie
DUMFRIES
Dumfries
Annan
North Channel
Solway Firth
Burrow Hd.
Mull of Galloway

OUTLINE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE ROMANS IN SCOTLAND

1. *Julius Agricola and Mons Graupius.*—We enter Scottish history in the track of Roman legions. In less than forty years Britain south of the Cheviots had been made a Roman province. To complete the conquest of the northern tribes, the new governor, Julius Agricola, led his army from York to the shores of the Firth of Forth, only to find himself among tribes hitherto unknown. He met with little resistance, and in the summer of A.D. 81 a chain of small earthen forts was constructed along the narrow land between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. One of these was on Bar Hill, Dumbartonshire, near Kilsyth; and the leaden bullets of Agricola's slingers have also been found in the fortifications of *Birrenswark*, in Annandale. Meantime a fleet explored the coast, and kept in touch with the legions. But when in A.D. 85 Agricola passed the Forth, he was met by the united forces of the Caledonians (*i.e.*, men of the forest). These were warriors large in

limb and with reddish hair, like the Germans. They took up a position on a hill called *Mons Graupius*,* facing the Roman camp. They fought with long heavy swords and small oblong shields, while their chief men were mounted or rode in war-chariots. 'Among the many leaders,' the foremost was Calgacus ('the sworded one'). The firm advance

ROMAN SOLDIERS.

of the armoured Romans drove back the horsemen and chariots in confusion. The Caledonian footmen, descending from the hill to surround the less numerous Romans, were scattered by Agricola's cavalry. Retreating to the edge of the great

* Whence by a misreading the name "Grampius" and the Grampian Mountains. Where Mons Graupius was, is unknown.

Caledonian Forest, they again tried to make a stand; but Agricola dismounted his cavalry, and sent them with his light troops into the wood. Night alone ended the slaughter and pursuit. But Agricola's men were too few for a conquest, and he himself was shortly after recalled to Rome. His campaigns in Scotland had been only a successful raid. The forts were abandoned.

2. *The Wall of Antonine.*—More than half a century passed ere the Romans again appeared among the 'wild hills and marshy plains' of the Lowlands. The Roman general was Lollius Urbicus, and the occupation was part of the Roman method of defence. From the Tyne to the Solway Firth a wall had been raised by the Emperor Hadrian for the protection of the province. In A.D. 140 Lollius Urbicus constructed a line of defence between Carriden on the Firth of Forth and New Kilpatrick on the Clyde. It consisted of a rampart of turf about 10 feet high, on a foundation of stone. Behind was a military road, and out in front was a ditch 40 feet wide and 12 feet deep. This wall is called by the name of Antonine, the reigning Emperor. Along its line, and at important positions between the two walls, were strong forts or stations, almost all of turf, except such as Castlecary, east of Kilsyth, with quarters for soldiers and their families, some stone buildings, wells, and baths. Such a fort at *Birrens* guarded the road down Annandale, and another, of great extent, at *Newstead* near Melrose, the valley of the Leader and the highway to York. Southern Scotland was thus not a Romanized country, but a military region, a

breadth of frontier where the attacks of the northern tribes could be stopped without affecting the peace of the province proper. These tribes were now known as 'Picts.' They tattooed their bodies with the shapes of animals, and a Latin poet speaks of 'the figures fading on the dying Pict.' But even this stronger occupation did not last for more than fifty years. The Meatæ between the walls, the Picts beyond, and roving bands of Scots from Ireland, proved too much for the Roman garrisons; and these were at last withdrawn behind the more solid stone defences of the southern wall. Once and again Roman Emperors entered the country to strike a blow at the fierce free tribes, but the Picts continued to harass the province, until in A.D. 410 the Roman army was withdrawn, when Rome itself had fallen to the barbarians of Northern Europe.

3. *St. Ninian introduces Christianity.*—Ere the end came the Roman Empire had become Christian. Nynia, or Ninian, was a missionary to the Britons of the north, and built a stone church at Whithorn, near Wigtown Bay. There were Christians among the Britons about the Clyde; and Patrick, a youth born at Roseneath, after being carried off as a slave to Ireland, regained his liberty, and returned to the northern part of that island to preach the new religion, already introduced by Roman missionaries in the south.

CHAPTER II

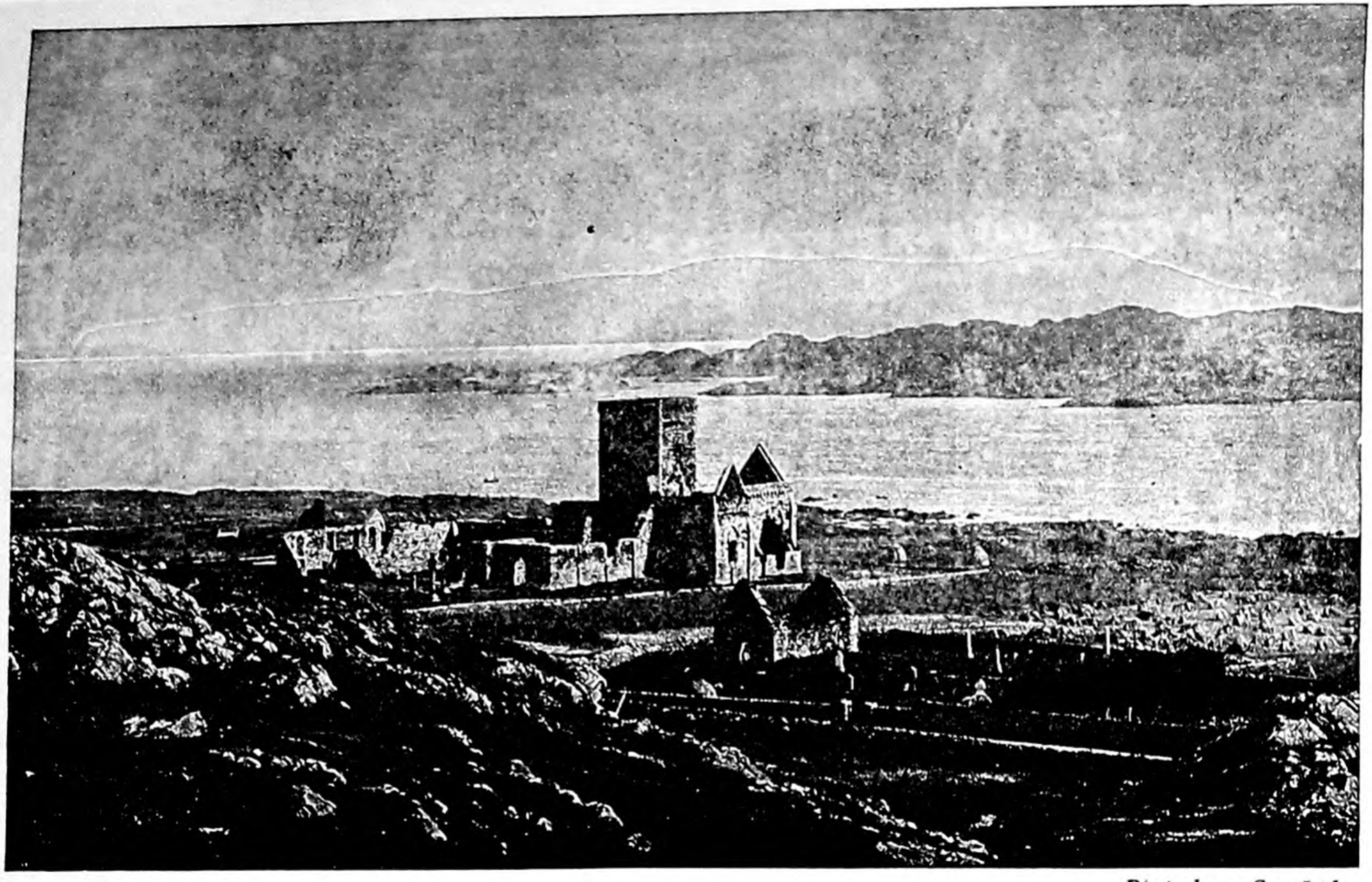
THE KINGDOM OF ALBAN

1. *St. Columba.*—When the light of history again falls upon Scotland, it is to show us the little fleet of coracles—boats of skin upon a framework of wood—in which Colm, or Columba (' the dove '), with his companions, ' resolving to seek a foreign country for the love of Christ, sailed from Scotia to Britain ' —that is, as the names were then used, from Ireland to Scotland (A.D. 563). They settled in the little island of Hy, now Iona. The neighbouring coast, southwards, with its islands, had long been in the possession of their countrymen, who had formed the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada in what is now north Argyll. They were Christians. But north and east of them stretched the kingdom of the Picts. It was to these people that Columba had come on his mission. He sought out the Pictish King, Brude, in his capital at Inverness. It is said that Columba beat the King's magicians in working miracles, and so converted him. He gave permission for the Christian missionaries to pass through his kingdom. The names of these are still preserved in the districts to which they went. Donnan was martyred in Eigg. Maelrubha has left his name in Loch Maree. Machar went to Aberdeen, and Cormac to Orkney. At the same time the mission of Ninian was again taken up in the south by Kentigern or Mungo, who founded a Church at Glasgow.

2. *The Celtic Church.*—The Irish or Celtic Church

which Columba planted in Scotland was peculiar in many ways. It was a Church of monks. Each monastery consisted of a number of huts clustering round a church, all built of wood and clay and thatched. Here the brethren lived together, themselves providing for all their needs. Some worked at copying books for the Church services, which they ornamented beautifully. The head of the monastery was an Abbot. There were also bishops, but their duty simply was to consecrate new brethren: they did not rule, as in the Christian Church elsewhere. When a missionary founded a new monastery, it was subject to the monastery of its founder. An Abbot named his successor, and did so from his own family, or from that of the neighbouring chief. Each group of monasteries was thus a sort of tribe in a country of tribes. The monks were peace-loving men, who made converts by their fervent preaching, their kindness to the poor, and the example of their hard, simple lives. They thus had great influence among the people, while the Roman missionaries in England usually attached themselves to the Kings and the nobles.

3. *Dalriada and Strathclyde.*—Columba himself was a politician as well as a missionary. The Picts, just before his arrival, had conquered Dalriada. Columba secured its independence, and had a young, vigorous King appointed, whose name was Aidan. The Scots then tried to extend their kingdom southwards along the Forth. There they met an enemy as heavy of hand as the Picts. The eastern half of Lowland Scotland was now in possession of the English, who had settled on its coast. They had



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IONA CATHEDRAL.

Many of the Scottish Kings were buried here.

driven the native Britons westwards to the hills, where the British kingdom of Strathclyde was formed, stretching from its chief fortress of Alcluyd, or Dumbarton ('fort of the Britons'), as far south as the river Derwent in England. With these Britons Aidan and his successors joined at times in fighting the English. But they always lost, and both Strathclyde and Dalriada were for a period subject to the English kingdom of Bernicia. Bernicia, when united with the district to the south known as Deira, the modern counties of York and Lancaster, made up the kingdom of Northumbria, which thus reached from the Forth to the Humber and Mersey. When, by the middle of the seventh century, Northumbria had overcome the Picts as well as the Scots and Britons, it seemed likely to become the leading power in Scotland.

4. *Northumbria and the Celtic Church.*—Northumbria was already a Christian state, and its Christianity also had come from Iona. Two of its Princes had taken refuge among the Picts on the death of their father and the overthrow of their kingdom at the hands of a neighbouring English King. The Picts and the Northumbrians were usually on friendly terms. One of the Princes became the father of a Pictish King. The other, on recovering the throne, sent for a missionary from the Celtic Church. A monastery was founded, in the usual Celtic fashion, on a little island off the coast, since known as Holy Isle. There arose a church, 'not of stone, but wholly of hewn timber, after the manner of the Scots, and roofed with a thatch of reeds.' Later another monastery was placed in a crook of the

Tweed at Old Melrose.* In this house was taught the shepherd lad who afterwards became famous as the good St. Cuthbert, the great missionary of the eastern Lowlands. But in Northumbria the Celtic Church received its death-blow. Missionaries from the Roman Church came northwards, and the differences between the two bodies gave rise to serious disputes. The great feast of Easter they calculated to fall at different dates, these being sometimes about a week apart. In other ways, too, the practices of the rival Churches clashed. The whole matter was referred to the King of Northumbria at the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664. On the ground that St. Peter, whom the Pope claimed to represent, held the keys of heaven—as both parties agreed—while Columba did not, the King decided in favour of the Church of Peter. Most of the Columban clergy therefore left the kingdom.

5. *The Columban Church Conforms.*—Now, Pictland and Northumbria were in close touch with each other, and forty years later, when Pictland was once more free, King Nectan adopted the Whitby judgment, and wrote to a Northumbrian Bishop, begging him to send men 'who would make in his nation a church of stone after the manner of the Romans.' The clergy who stood fast in the old ways he expelled from the kingdom. Their places were taken by Roman clergy, or secular priests, from Northumbria. A few years afterwards Iona and Dalriada also admitted the new usage, and the disappearance of the Celtic form of Church had begun.

* About two miles below the modern Melrose.

6. *Rise of Pictland.*—Already Pictland, as we have noted, had shaken off the power of Northumbria; to be followed by Dalriada and Strathclyde. Northumbria was humbled in the great Pictish victory at Dunnichen ('Nectan's Fort'), in Forfarshire (685). But the Picts were a divided people. Their country was crossed by the line of mountains known as *The Mounth.** The tribes north and south of this barrier could not wholly combine, and usually quarrelled over the kingship. Columba had found King Brude at Inverness; later the Pictish King is more often south of the Mounth. Only a very strong monarch could keep the tribes united. Moreover, a King succeeded to the throne by right of his mother, not of his father, who very often was a stranger. Brother succeeded brother, or, failing such, the next heir was a sister's son. Under these conditions civil war was common. Early in the eighth century one of the lesser Kings of Pictland defeated the other claimants, and seized the chief position for himself. This was Angus MacFergus—'a bloody tyrant' he is called. He inflicted a heavy 'smiting' upon Dalriada, and, with the help of Northumbria, also conquered Strathclyde. But with his death the overrule of Pictland ended, and the old quarrels broke out afresh.

7. *The Northmen.*—And now a new and terrible foe descended upon the country. The *Vikings* ('creek-men'), or *Dugalls* ('dark strangers'), began to appear in their 'dragon-ships' on the coasts to plunder and slay. Their home was the barren shores of the Baltic and North Sea, where they first lived by whale-fishing and selling furs. Each ship carried

* More familiar as the Grampian Mountains.

from sixty to seventy-five men, all daring sailors and fearless fighters. They were traders as well as pirates, and sold their plunder in the fairs of the Continent. The rich 'grave-goods,' weapons and ornaments and tools, found in their burials show how wealthy they became. Scotland must have been worth plundering, or they would not have gone to it.

8. *The Scottish Conquest.*—Chiefly the Northmen attacked churches and monasteries for the sake of the rich church furniture and vessels of silver set with precious stones. For as yet they were 'gentiles' or heathen, worshippers of Thor and Odin. Again and again Iona was ravaged; its buildings were burnt, and its monks slain. These raids completed the ruin of the Celtic monasteries, and the monks were scattered. They also brought about the downfall of the independent Pictish kingdom. The Northmen first settled in the islands round the coasts. The Nordereys, or 'north isles'—that is the Orkneys and Shetlands—were a 'den of pirates.' Thence they crossed the Pettland,* or Pictland (now the Pentland), Firth, and from time to time occupied the mainland as far south as the Beauly Valley. There the Norse names of places, such as Dingwall ('field of the meeting'—the *thing*), come to an end. Other bands overran the Sudereys, the 'southern isles'—that is, the Hebrides—and thence raided across the 'Scotland Firth,' their name for the

* The Latin form 'Picti' in Northumbria gave the English 'Peht,' or 'Pecht,' and this again, by rule, appears in the northern tongue in the form 'Pett.' The pronunciation 'Pettland' Firth still survives in Caithness.

Minch. This name shows that the Scots of Dalriada had spread northwards along the west coast. Argyll, which then extended to Lochbroom, in Ross-shire, means 'coast-land of the Gael.' These Scots were thus pressed inwards upon the Picts. The southern Picts, harassed on every side, failed before the Scots; and Kenneth MacAlpine, King of Dalriada, succeeded in possessing himself of their kingdom (844). This was the first stage in the formation of the kingdom of Scotland. But the Scottish name for the country ruled by Kenneth and his successors was *Alban*. In its fullest extent it stretched from the Forth to the Spey. Beyond was Moravia, or Moray, whose eastern part was called Ross, and north of that province were the districts held by the Norse.

9. *Gaels and Saxons.*—The long warfare of Picts and Scots had thus come to an end. A hard fortune had made Kenneth their King, and their hands were full in defending themselves against the tireless enemies who swarmed upon their coasts. But Kenneth was a Scot, and the Scottish clergy once more found a place among the Picts. They were the preachers and teachers. Thus Gaelic as spoken by the Scots, being the language both of the Court and the Church, displaced the native Pictish, a Celtic tongue like Welsh. Scarcely anything remains of it but the names of shadowy Kings and many place-names.* In after-days the British or

* Such as those beginning with *Pet* or *Pit*, *e.g.*, Pitlochry and *For* in Forteviot, Forfar, etc. Celtic thus disappeared in north-east Gaul before the Latin of the missionaries. (Mommsen.)

Welsh language of Strathclyde in like manner gave place to Gaelic. The people of ancient Alban have since always called themselves Gaels. English-speaking folk are in Gaelic *Saisenach*, or Saxons.

10. *The Bishop of Alban.*—Kenneth, though he restored the Columban clergy in Pictland, did so on the Roman lines. He founded both a monastery and a church in Dunkeld, and made it a bishopric. Later this honour was transferred to St. Andrews. The Bishop became head of the 'Scottish Church' as 'Bishop of Alban.' The rule of Bishops instead of Abbots meant the rule of Rome. The monastic system, too, decayed of itself. The lands of the monasteries fell to Abbots, who did not even trouble to take Holy orders, but paid others to do their work. The Church property became the inheritance of their children. These lay Abbots were thus wealthy and important men. A lay Abbot of Dunkeld married a King's daughter, and, as we shall see, was the founder of a royal race (see Chapter III, § 3). The appearance of another class of religious men marks the break-up of the monastic life. These were the *Culdees* ('devoted to God'). They were hermits, who lived solitary lives in 'deserts,' or places apart. This fashion, too, came from Ireland. Gradually the Culdees drew together in small communities under an Abbot, married like the other clergy, and acquired property. Such bodies continued in Scotland for the next two hundred years, and some even longer. But the future of the 'Scottish Church' was with Rome, not with Iona.

CHAPTER III

THE KINGDOM OF SCOTIA

1. *The Royal Succession in Alban.*—The new kingdom of Alban was hedged round with perils. The Britons of Strathclyde harried it and burned Dunblane. There was war, too, with Bernicia, or Lothian, as the district between the Forth and the Tweed now came to be called ; and Kenneth, in one of his many raids, destroyed the monastery at Old Melrose. Nor was there unity in the kingdom itself. The Crown again became the object of unceasing plots and contests. According to the Scottish fashion, the King's successor, known as the *Tanist* (' second one '), was appointed during his life. He was some near relative of the royal house, by preference the King's brother. On his death the succession went back to the former King's son, if suitable. Thus brother succeeded brother and nephew uncle. The result of this arrangement was jealousy on the part of other members of the family, who imagined they had as good or a better right to the position. So besides the many Kings who fell in battle not a few perished by assassination.

2. *Alban and the Danes.*—The worst foe of Alban was still, for nearly a hundred years, the Northmen. Of these the Danes had set up a kingdom in Ireland round Dublin. From that centre, under leaders like *Olaf the White* and *Thorstein the Red*, they swept through ' the kingdom of the Scotch, like red fire in dry reeds.' Their highway was up the Clyde, where

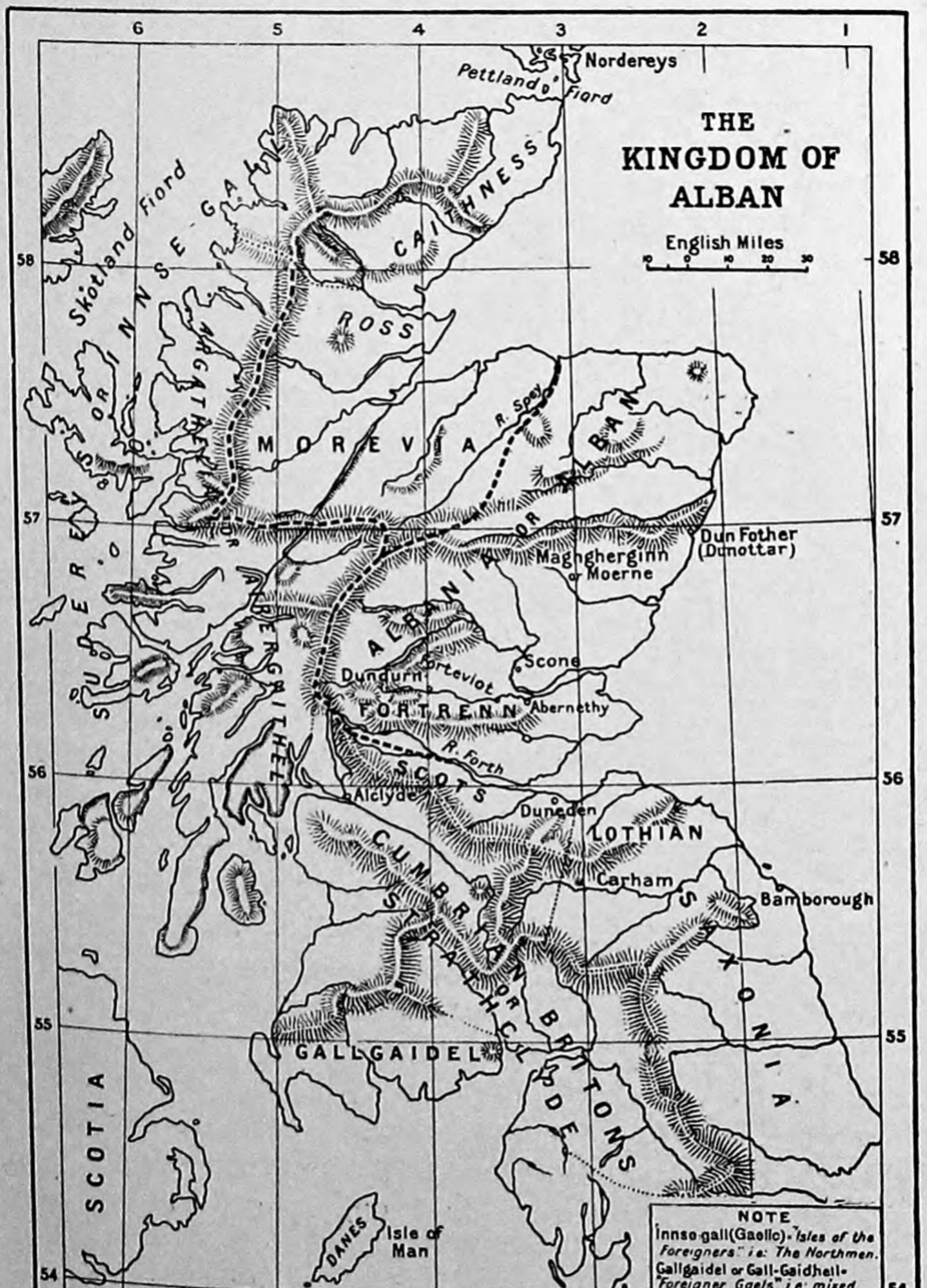
the only defence against them was the fortress of Alcluyd, or Dumbarton. But it only delayed them until it was captured. These raids were, as a rule, mere plundering expeditions in the summer-time, and the Danes then retired to their ships with their booty and captives. There was desperate fighting even as far east as Fife, and Thorstein the Red was for a time master of nearly half the country. Not till sixty years had passed was a descendant of Kenneth—Constantine III—able to inflict a severe blow upon the conquering 'war-smiths' (904). Constantine married his daughter to a Danish leader, and this led to his taking the field with the Danes and the Britons against the English King Athelstane. On the bloody 'death-field' of Brunanburgh (934), in Northumbria, the allies were scattered, and Constantine, 'the cunning, white-haired chieftain, fled,' leaving his son and many kinsmen among the slain. But, later, when Edmund of England drove the Danes out of Cumbria, the southern portion of Strathclyde, he made over that district to Malcolm I King of the Scots, on the understanding that he was to be his 'fellow-worker' against them 'both by sea and by land.'

3. *Strathclyde and Lothian are Added to Alban.*—Strathclyde proper, however, continued to give trouble, though its Kings were now sprung from a member of the royal house of Alban. By A.D. 1018 this line, too, failed, and Malcolm II was strong enough to unite the Western kingdom with his own. In the same year he secured a still more important addition. Aided by the last King of Strathclyde, he burst into Lothian. For a month a comet had

blazed in the sky, omen of some great disaster. The disaster befell in the crushing defeat of the Northumbrians at Carham-on-Tweed, and the surrender to Malcolm by the Earl of the fertile lands of Lothian. It was a great event in the history of Scotland, for the people of the new community were in time to supplant those of the older in guiding the destinies of the country. Malcolm II died *King of Scotia*, having taken another important step in breaking through the ancient rule of succession, and leaving the kingdom direct to his grandson Duncan I, son of the lay Abbot of Dunkeld.

4. *Scotia and the Norse Earls.*—Duncan's chief troubles, which at last led to his death, were in the North. There the task of facing the Norse vikings had been left to the local *mormaers*, or 'great officers,' of the Kings of Alban—'Earls' as the Norsemen called them; 'Kings' they are styled by the Gaelic historians, and as Kings they usually acted. They ruled the wide provinces of Moray, Ross, and Caithness. But the Norsemen were too strong for them. *Ketil Flatnose* established a kingdom in the Western Isles, from which the King of Norway claimed tribute. *Sigurd the Stout* began a line of Jarls, or Earls, of Orkney, who also held the Shetland Isles and Caithness. Malcolm II married his daughter to Sigurd. Their son, *Thorfinn the Ugly*, very tall and black-haired,* was a terror by the time he was fifteen years old. He made himself master of the islands north and south and

* The Northmen were usually men of fair hair and complexion.



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THE KINGDOM OF ALBAN.

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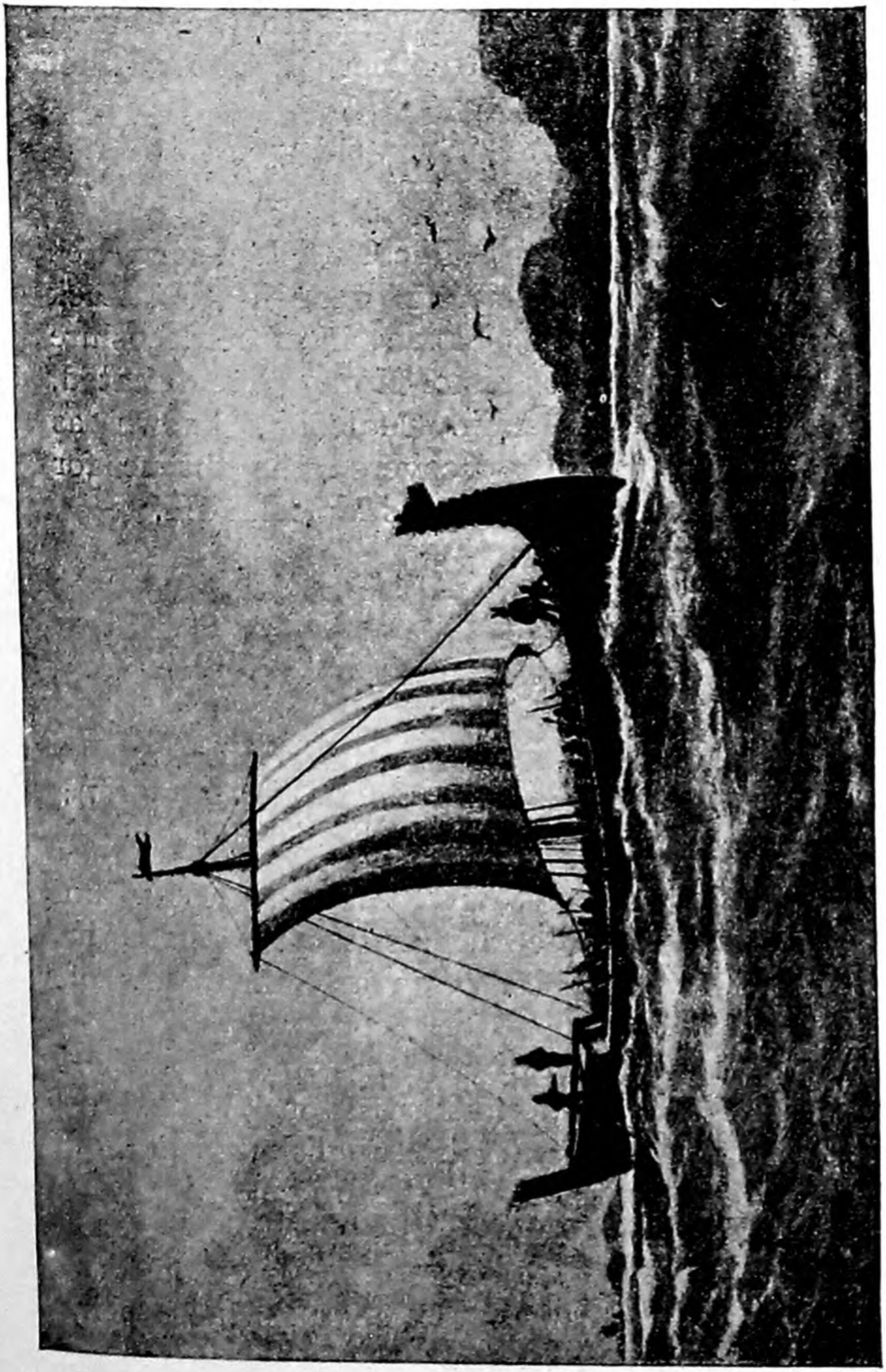
of Caithness. King Duncan gave the Earldom of Caithness to 'his sister's son,' Moddan. But Thorfinn drove him out, and further 'subjected to himself Sutherland and Ross.' Thereupon Duncan went north with a fleet, while Moddan led an army as far as Thurso. Thorfinn with his galleys fell upon Duncan in the Pentland Firth. The ships were lashed together, and there was 'a battle severe and long.' The Norse archers 'thinned' the more numerous crews of the King. Duncan's men cut the lashings and fled. Thorkell, or Torquil, an ally of the Earl, surprised Moddan at Thurso. The house in which he slept was set on fire, and, 'as he leapt down from the beams of the upper story, Thorkell hewed with a sword after him, and it hit the neck and took off the head.'

5. *Assassination of King Duncan.*—Duncan made a stand with a fresh army at *Torfness* (Burghead), but again was defeated, while Thorfinn marched south, ravaging and burning. 'They killed such men as they found, but women and old men crept away into deserts and woods with howling and whining; some they whipt before them and made captives.' Duncan himself was slain by one of his generals, Macbeth, *Mormaer* of Moray, whose stepson, Lulach, had a claim on the throne according to the old Scottish rule of succession. Thorfinn became 'the richest of all the Earls of Orkney.' Duncan's sons took refuge in England. The Crown had come north again to Moray.

6. *Macbeth* (A.D. 1040-1057).—Macbeth proved himself an able and popular King. He was kind



A VIKING SHIP.

From a drawing by Norman Wilkinson, R.B.A., R.I.

to the poor and generous in gifts to the Church. In his reign, says the chronicler Wyntoun, there was—

> 'Great plenty
> Abounding baith on land and sea.'

But Duncan's eldest son, Malcolm, after seventeen years, found himself strong enough to attack the supplanter. In a battle in Aberdeenshire Macbeth and his supporters of Moray were defeated, and the King was slain. Malcolm, known as Canmore ('big head'),* recovered the throne for the descendants of the Abbot as Malcolm III.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOTO-ENGLISH KINGS: MALCOLM III, 'CANMORE' (1057); EDGAR 'THE PEACEABLE' (1097); ALEXANDER I, 'THE FIERCE' (1107)

1. *The New Kingdom.*—With Malcolm III, who was crowned at Scone, begins a new period in Scottish history. In his reign and the reigns of his sons the government of Scotland was transformed. It had grown up on Celtic—that is, tribal—lines. It had absorbed the British or Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde and the English district of Lothian. Beyond the Forth the original kingdom of Alban had been divided into seven great tribal territories, each under its *Mormaer*, or 'Earl' as he now came to be called. These Earls held their

* So called for his wisdom.

positions by birth and their lands by custom. They seem to have claimed the right to elect the King from the royal family. How far the King's authority would extend depended entirely on his own ability and military strength. During the next hundred years all this was changed. The form of government became English, or, rather, Norman-English, in character.

In 1066 William, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror, had made himself King of England. Many Englishmen fled before the Conqueror into Scotland, and, later, Norman nobles were introduced and settled in the country by the Scottish Kings. Thus Scotland, too, was conquered, though peacefully, by the new men and the new ideas. The English order and laws, and, later, these as modified by the Normans—even the English speech, hitherto confined to Lothian, in time took the place among the governing classes of the old tongue and the Celtic modes of life. These, however, long lingered on among the pathless mountains and in the remote islands of the North and West. In the Western Islands, indeed, the Gaels recovered ground which had been lost to the Norse. But in the more fertile, richer, more populous, and more accessible lowlands and plains, including those that fringe the east coast, a great change took place. Thus arose a division in the country which deeply affected its history, and is still seen to some extent—as in different languages.

2. *Malcolm and the Norman Kings.*—Malcolm himself had been brought up in England, and spoke English as well as Gaelic. As his second wife he

married the Princess Margaret, who, with her brother Edgar, the Atheling or Prince of the old English line of Kings, had taken refuge for a time in Scotland. Malcolm's ambition, too, was to extend his kingdom southwards by getting possession of the Earldom of Northumberland, which, with Lothian, had made up the old kingdom of Bernicia. For this purpose he invaded the North of England at least five times during his long reign of thirty-six years. On one of these occasions he ravaged the district of Teesdale. A quick-tempered and wilful man, he proved himself a cruel enemy. Old men and women were slaughtered 'like swine.' The young people of both sexes were carried off to Scotland to be slaves. But Malcolm had to do with the 'stark' Norman Kings, as cruel and as determined as himself. 'The Conqueror' followed Malcolm to his own kingdom with a fleet and an army. At Abernethy, on the Earn, the Scottish King, without any fighting, became William's 'man,' receiving in return lands in England and a gift of money. Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first wife, the widow of Earl Thorfinn the Ugly, was handed over to the English King as a hostage or pledge that the bargain of peace would be observed.

3. *Malcolm's Campaigns.*—But while William was absent in Normandy, Malcolm returned to his old work of pillaging and burning in Northumberland. William's son Robert crossed the Tweed to find the country deserted and cleared of everything before him. He retired to build a 'New Castle' on the Tyne as a check to the Scots. Other castles were afterwards built for the same purpose at Durham

and Norham on the Tweed. The Conqueror's death again gave Malcolm his chance; but William II (Rufus) brought him to the same terms as his father. In addition he occupied Cumberland, which the Scottish Kings claimed as part of Strathclyde, and refortified Carlisle to guard the valley of the Eden. Scotland was to be kept within her natural boundaries, the Tweed, the Cheviot Hills, and the Esk. When Malcolm went to visit Rufus in England to complain of such treatment, that King refused to see him unless he would 'do right' to him as his overlord. Thus begins the English claim that the King of Scotland was a vassal of the King of England—a claim that was to work so much mischief to both countries. Malcolm would not hear of being treated as a mere subject like any English baron. In high anger he returned home, once more, and for the last time, to lead an army across the Tweed on his old mission of destruction in Northumberland. Near Alnwick he and his eldest son were caught in an ambush and slain. Many of his soldiers were drowned as they retreated over the swollen waters of the Alne (1093).

4. *The New Court.*—It was Queen Margaret, Malcolm's English wife, who did most in the transformation of the Scottish kingdom and the Scottish Church. She was a clever, refined, and well-educated woman, who had lived abroad as well as at the English Court. Over her fierce husband she had a great influence. He seems to have allowed her to carry out what changes she pleased at home, while he occupied himself with his adventures in England. She directed her efforts to making the

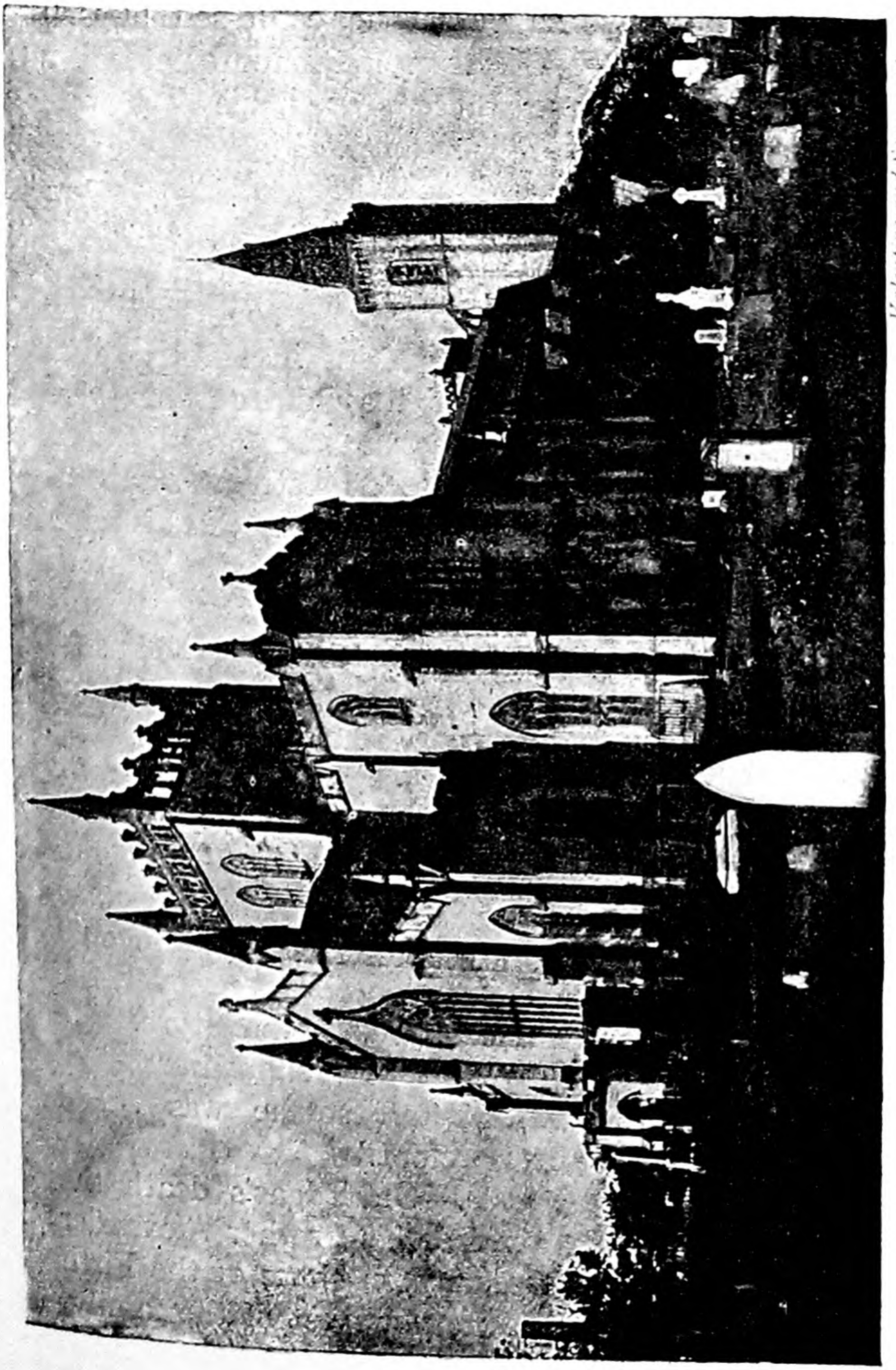
Scottish Court more civilized and dignified. The King was to be somebody far above other men, who were to obey and reverence him. Finer manners were imposed upon the royal household. Gold and silver plate appeared on its table. Foreign merchants were encouraged to come to the country, bringing fine cloths of various colours such as Scotland could not provide. The fashions of dress changed. The chief royal residence was fixed farther south, nearer the English-speaking parts of Scotland. The earlier Kings had lived at Scone, on the Tay, or at Forteviot or Abernethy, on the Earn. Now 'the King sits in Dunfermline town.' Margaret brought up her children very carefully. Her six sons, it is worth noting, all had English names. Three of them afterwards filled the Scottish throne. Margaret took an interest, too, in the condition of the poorer people, relieving their hardships as much as she was able, and freeing many of the slaves. Unlike her warlike husband, she could read, and possessed many books. Her favourite volumes Malcolm caused to be adorned with gold and precious stones on the covers. One of these may still be seen in the Library at Oxford, her beautiful 'Book of the Gospels.'

5. *St. Margaret: Her Reforms in the Church.*—Margaret was also a very pious woman, so that for her devotion to the Church and her good works she was raised to the rank of a saint. At Dunfermline she built the Church of the Holy Trinity, afterwards the Abbey Church, and the sepulchre of many Scottish Kings. To it and to St. Andrews she gave

many costly gifts, such as crosses, chalices, and rich vestments for the priests. Iona, the former place of royal burial, rose again from its ashes. At sacred seasons, such as Easter or Christmastide, hundreds of poor people were fed in the royal hall by the King and Queen, 'waiting upon Christ in His poor.' But the Scottish Church had shared in the looseness and corruption which had spread over the Church of Western Europe during the stormy centuries of the invasions. The clergy married, contrary to the directions of the reforming Popes, who wished priests to be unmarried men. Church property was often held by laymen (see Chapter II, § 5). Sunday was not observed as a day of rest: people continued their ordinary occupations on that day as on others. The service of the Mass, the chief service of the Roman Church, was celebrated 'with some sort of barbarous rite.' These practices Queen Margaret set herself to reform. For three days she argued with the Gaelic-speaking clerics upon their ways, her husband acting as interpreter. In the end she had her will. By her, and still more by her sons, the Scottish Church was at last brought into line with that of England and under the rule of Rome. But Margaret wore herself out with her fastings and strict observances of Church duties. She was lying ill in Edinburgh Castle when her son Edgar brought the news of the King's death. In a few hours she, too, was dead. She was buried in the church she had erected in Dunfermline, perhaps the greatest woman in Scottish history, in view of what she herself did and what she influenced her sons to do. Malcolm's body was

later brought from England and laid beside that of his Queen.

6. *A Celtic Revolt.*—The Celts of the North could hardly be expected to look on these sweeping changes with favour. They disliked the new notions of the Queen, and were jealous of her English friends. The kingdom for which they had fought, of which they still formed a great part, and which had been ruled by Kings of their own race and tongue, seemed to be slipping from their grasp into the hands of foreigners. As long as the 'big-headed' and heavy-handed Malcolm lived there was nothing for it but to submit. On his death, however, they rose in arms. Following the rule of *Tanistry*, they chose his brother Donald Bane ('the Fair') as King, and 'drove out all the English who had been with Malcolm.' But against Donald came Duncan, Malcolm's first son, who had all these years lived as a hostage in England. He had the support of William Rufus, having 'done such homage as the King required.' He thrust Donald from the throne, and, when the Scots rose against him and massacred his English following, he made peace with them 'on condition that he should never more bring English or Frenchmen (Normans) into that country.' But the Scots, led by the *Mormaer* of Mearns, again revolted, and Duncan was betrayed and slain. His uncle Donald was chosen King a second time, and he seems to have been helped by Margaret's son Edmund, 'the only one of her sons who fell away from goodness.' Edmund, in return, received the southern half of the kingdom. Finally Edmund's elder brother, Edgar, backed by the



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY, AS RESTORED.

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English King, whose vassal he confessed himself to be, put down both Kings. Edmund became a monk. Donald Bane was captured, his eyes were put out, and he was imprisoned for life.

7. *Edgar the Peaceable and Magnus Barelegs.*—Edgar was surnamed 'the Peaceable' because no wars disturbed his reign. He is said to have been a kind and just ruler. He carried on the policy of his mother: he was generous in making gifts of land to the Church, and his chief officials were Englishmen. His sister became the 'good Queen Maud' of England. He resided mostly at Dunedin, soon to be better known as Edinburgh. In his reign a fresh arrangement was made about the Western Isles. Magnus, King of Norway, had asserted his authority there, and set up a King subject to himself, whom the Islesmen rose against and slew. Magnus returned to sweep over the whole Hebrides with fire and sword. The people who could not save themselves by flight were slain. 'The cheerful wolf reddened his tooth in many a wound.' Magnus agreed with Edgar to have every island 'between which and the mainland a helm-carrying ship could pass.' Then he had his galley dragged over the isthmus at Tarbet, and so secured Kintyre. He and his followers dressed in the 'short kyrtle' of 'the Western Countries,' and so he was called 'Magnus Barelegs, or Barefoot.'

8. *Alexander the Fierce.*—On Edgar's death the kingdom was again divided, his brother Alexander taking Alban with the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, while David, the youngest of the family, had Lothian and Strathclyde, with the title of Earl.

Alexander's chief residence was at Invergowrie, near Dundee, and the principal towns of his kingdom were Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen. A rebellion by the men of Mearns and Moray he suppressed in such a merciless fashion as to win from his subjects the name of 'the Fierce.' Thereafter he founded an abbey at Scone. He was a true son of Malcolm and Margaret, pitiless in war, and a good friend to the Church. He was the first King beyond the Forth to give grants by charter or written deed. Hitherto a possessor of lands had nothing by which he could maintain his right to his property save the testimony of witnesses who saw it given

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER I—OBVERSE.

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER I—REVERSE.

to him, or the fact that he had held it for many generations. If these failed, there was no way to settle the claim but by the sword. The Gaels did not care for charters. It seemed as if they were being robbed of their ancient rights. Many hundreds of years after this there were still chiefs in the Highlands who would boast that they held their lands by the sword and not by the 'sheep-skin.' The witnesses to Alexander's charters, the leading men at his Court, are the Celtic Earls. He ruled through the old families of Alban.

9. *Alexander and the Bishops.*—Previous to the reign of Alexander there had been but one bishopric in Scotland, that of St. Andrews. Alexander added Dunkeld and Moray. A bishop controlled all the clergy over a certain district known as his 'diocese.' The chief church of the diocese was a cathedral, the seat of the bishop. The office was endowed with estates, and the bishops soon came to be very rich and powerful men. On the death of the last Celtic bishop of St. Andrews, Alexander appointed an Englishman, and, on his death, another. Neither found St. Andrews 'a peaceable, friendly place.' They wished to recognize the supremacy of the English Archbishops, one preferring York and the other Canterbury. As such an arrangement seemed to suggest the supremacy of England as a whole over his own kingdom,* Alexander would not admit the claim, and each of his bishops left him. He would not even allow the

*** The submission of the Welsh Church to Canterbury was a step towards the subjugation of Wales.**

case to be taken to Rome for settlement. Finally, Pope Clement III declared the Scottish Church to be independent, and subject only to the Holy See (1188).

CHAPTER V

NORMAN SCOTLAND: DAVID I, 'THE SAINT' (1124); MALCOLM IV, 'THE MAIDEN' (1153); WILLIAM 'THE LION' I (1165)

1. *The Normans in Scotland.*—David I completed the work which his family had begun and carried so far—the remoulding of the Scottish kingdom. Brought up in England, he was entirely Norman in his tastes and sympathies. A writer of the time says that he was 'a youth more courtly' than his elder brothers, and, 'polished from a boy, had rubbed off all the rust of Scottish barbarism.' During the seventeen years that David ruled the Lowlands he surrounded himself with his Norman friends. Many received from him grants of lands, while others acquired lands by marriage. When he became King, he followed the same policy. Now, for the first time, we meet the names which are so familiar in the country's history. A Balliol had lordships in Forfar. Walter Comyn was Chancellor, the highest official in the kingdom. Later this family acquired great holdings in the Highlands, and became the most powerful in Scotland. A Bruce was lord of Annandale. A younger member of the house of FitzAlan was settled on wide estates in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. Among his followers

was a family named Wallace. The FitzAlans, who had come but recently from Brittany, became hereditary High Stewards of Scotland, who attended to the King's personal affairs. From them sprang the later Kings, the royal house of Stewart. The language of these Normans, and of the retainers they brought with them, was French. David thus introduced into the country a new nobility, owing their position to himself, and ready to stand by him against the ancient possessors of the land, to whom they were foreign in blood and speech. As they held their estates on the feudal condition of doing military service

GREAT SEAL OF DAVID I—OBVERSE.

GREAT SEAL OF DAVID I—REVERSE.

Note the armour, and compare with the description on p. 33, § 2.

to their superior the King, they constituted a sort of royal garrison or standing army. Scotland was now a 'feudal,' not a 'tribal' kingdom.

2. *The Norman Chivalry and the Norman Castles.*—The Normans were the best soldiers of the age. Fighting, and hunting with hawk or hound, were the occupations of their lives. Each knight wore in battle a shirt of mail or network of steel, and a peaked steel helmet. He carried a long kite-shaped shield, a sword, and a lance. He fought on horseback. The Norman army was thus formed of cavalry, or 'chivalry.' Footmen were despised, though for certain purposes they might be necessary. A heavy-armed and well-horsed knight counted himself a match for any number of them. But being few in number, the Normans strengthened themselves with their castles. These they built on steep hillocks, and, at first, they consisted of a tower of wood with a ditch on the level, and a court surrounded by a bank of earth on which was a stout fence with a ditch outside. The fortified hillock was called a *mote*. Such a castle did not take long to erect, did not cost much, and was strong enough to resist the efforts of a simply armed people. The place of the wooden building was in time taken by a tower, or 'keep,' of stone, or, as it was called in Southern Scotland, a 'peel.'* Such were the earliest forms of Norman castles in Scotland, and the sites of these 'motes' are most numerous where they were most necessary to keep down a restless people. They lie in a crowded ring round the district of Galloway.

* Latin *palum*, becoming *pelum*, a palisade or fence : whence Old French *pel*.

3. *Rebellion in Moray.*—The value of the Norman knights as an addition to the royal power was soon made clear. A few years after David came to the throne, and while he was absent in England, a rebellion broke out in Moray. It was led by Angus the *Mormaer*, son of Heth, who was son of a sister of Lulach, Macbeth's stepson, the rival royal family. The Constable of Scotland, the head of the military force of the kingdom, stopped the advancing Highland host at Strathacro, in Forfarshire. Against the mailed knights the thin-clad, poorly-armed men of the North could make no stand, and were defeated with great slaughter. Angus was slain, but his brother Malcolm, 'the heir of his father's hate and of English wrongs,' refused for many years to submit. Then David appealed for help to the barons of the North of England. The news of their coming was enough. Malcolm was seized and given up by some of his own followers, and imprisoned in the castle of Roxburgh.

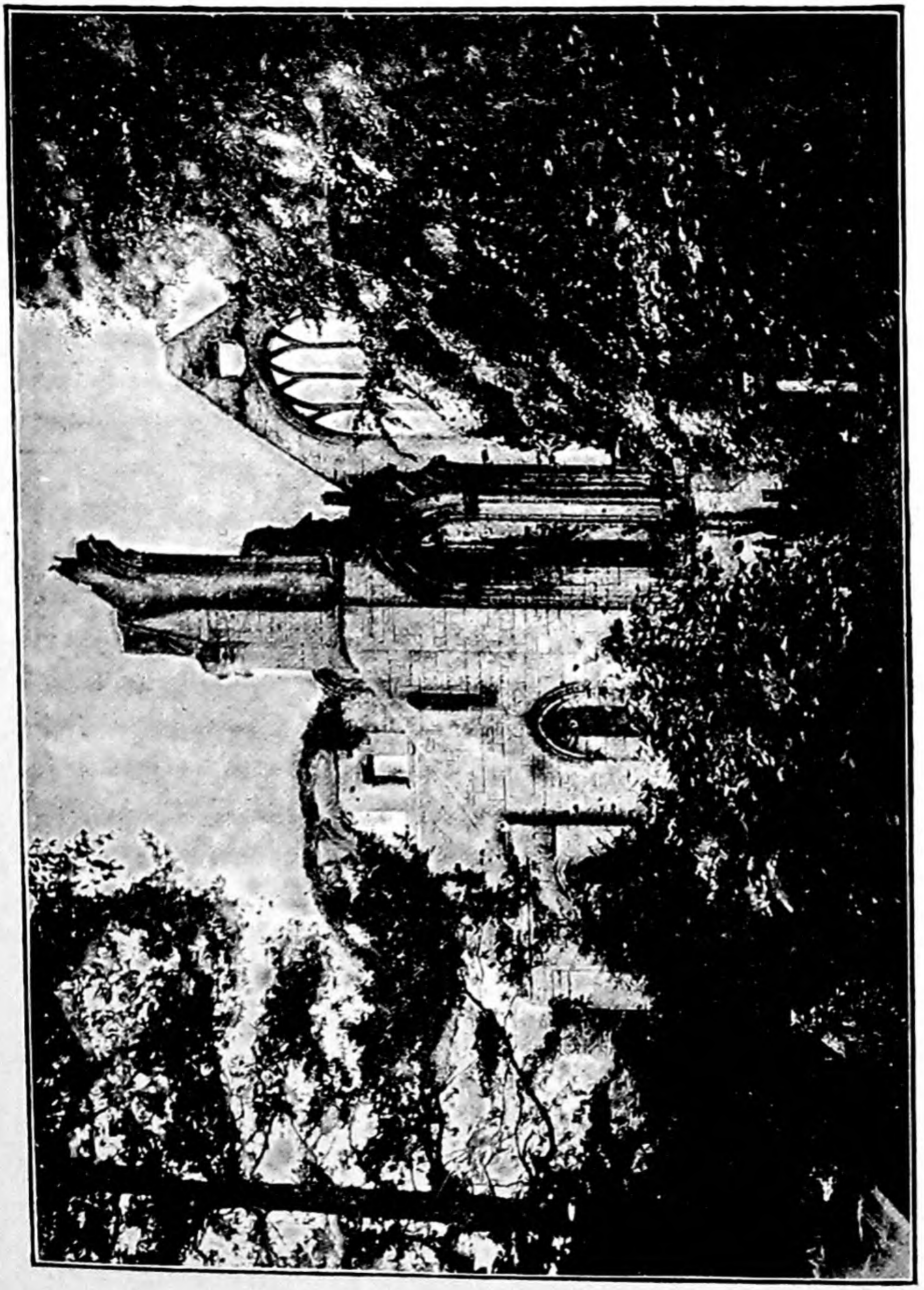
4. *David's English Wars.*—David married an English wife, who brought him the Earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon. For these he was a vassal of the King of England. He thus took an oath to Henry I, with the other English barons, to support his daughter Matilda as Queen. Matilda was David's niece. But David had further, through his wife, a descendant of a former Earl of Northumberland, a fresh claim on that earldom. When civil war broke out between the supporters of Queen Matilda and those of King Stephen, David, of course, took the side of his niece. Four times he led an army across the Border, partly to serve her interests,

still more to serve his own in the matter of Northumberland.

5. *The Battle of the Standard* (A.D. 1138).—The most important of these expeditions was the third. He had a great array drawn from every quarter of his kingdom from Orkney to Galloway. As usual, the Scottish army burnt, pillaged, and slew without sparing. The Archbishop of York proclaimed a holy war. The men of York, led by their Norman lords, assembled to drive back the Scots. Even some of David's own Norman friends, such as Robert Bruce and Bernard Balliol, who held estates in Yorkshire as well as Scotland, took the field against him after vainly trying to make peace. The small English army was drawn up on the hill-side near Northallerton. In their centre was a car, bearing on a pole some sacred relics, and the banners of four northern saints. This was the 'Standard' which gives its name to the battle. The English knights dismounted and formed the first line. David wished to attack with his own Norman and English men-at-arms, but his Highlanders and Galloway Scots angrily claimed the right to lead. 'Why trust so much, my King,' said one of the Celtic Earls, 'to the good-will of these Frenchmen? None of them, for all his mail, will go so far to the front as I, who fight unarmoured in to-day's battle.' David changed his order of battle, and the 'bare-breeched' Scots rushed on the English spears. Again and again they charged, but failed to pierce the shield-wall of the knights in mail. The archers poured their arrows upon them as they advanced, 'many of them looking like hedgehogs with the

shafts still sticking in their bodies.' David's son, Prince Henry, with the horsemen, did cut a way through the English lines, but was unsupported. A cry was raised that the King had fallen, and the Scottish foot melted away. David led back the remnants of his army to Carlisle, his Scots and English quarrelling all the way home. Still, in the divided state of England, he continued to hold the northern counties. By an arrangement with Stephen, Prince Henry received his father's English earldoms, including Northumberland. Soon after Matilda abandoned the contest. Till the end of the reign the Scottish frontier was once more the valley of the Eden and the River Tees.

6. *Kirks and Abbeys.*—'David,' says the chronicler, 'illumined the land with kirks and with abbeys.' In this work he surpassed his predecessors. To the three earlier bishoprics he added six. The bishopric of Glasgow covered the whole extent of the Scottish portion of Strathclyde. Others were Brechin, Dunblane, Aberdeen, Ross (Rosemarkie), and Caithness (Dornoch). The *Culdees* at these places were brought under the new system. But no single bishop with his cathedral could serve the needs of such large districts. Accordingly these were soon divided into parishes, each with its own church and priest. For their support the people had to pay tithes or *teind*, the tenth part of all their produce. But the great religious institutions of David were the abbeys. Many of the most famous owe their foundation to him. A new Melrose was built higher up the Tweed. Other houses, with their stately and beautiful churches, were placed



DRYBURGH ABBEY.

Founded in 1150 by Hugh de Moreville, Lord Lauderdale and Constable of Scotland.

at Kelso and Dryburgh. David instituted the historic Abbey of Holyrood.* Fifteen religious houses in all, from Dundrennan Abbey in Wigtownshire to the Priory of Kinloss in Moray, are said to have been established by the devoted King. These he endowed with estates from lands in the royal possession, so that one of his successors long after could speak of him as 'ane sore saint for the Crown,' meaning that he 'left the kirk over-rich and the Crown over-poor.' The King's example was followed by some of his leading nobles. Walter the Steward founded an abbey at Paisley.

7. *Regulars and Seculars.*—The religious houses were occupied mainly by monks, a class of clergy who lived together under strict rules, and so were called the 'regular' clergy, while the parish priests, living out in the world, were known as 'seculars.' The head of a monastery was known as an Abbot or Prior. Some houses, such as Holyrood, were the homes of 'canons,' who were 'seculars' living together like monks. The name is preserved in the street above Holyrood, called the Canongate, the 'gate' or road of the canons. Members of these orders David brought from England and France to make a start in Scotland, and the knowledge and skill which these brought with them were, of course, national benefits. This century and the next were the great period of church-building in our country, and that meant the coming of architects and masons from abroad. It was said that 'preaching could not be heard for the sound of hammers and trowels.' The great churches were

* *I.e.*, Holy Rood—the Cross.

many years in building, and were for long being repaired and extended. Their size, and the beautiful stonework and fittings which they contained, show that much wealth must have gone to their construction. The new clergy, too, naturally supported the interests of the King, as did the new nobility. Bishops appear with Earls and barons as the counsellors of the King. David died at Carlisle in A.D. 1153, a 'saint' in popular tradition, and certainly an accomplished and high-minded King. His rapid and far-reaching reforms he carried out with a high hand, but without losing the affection of the people.

8. *Malcolm the Maiden.*—David's eldest son, Prince Henry, the hero of the Battle of the Standard, had died before his father. Henry's son, Malcolm, a boy of ten, was therefore his feudal successor. That he should succeed peacefully to the throne shows that the royal position was at last fixed. But to the Northern Celts a boy-King was something new, and Donald MacHeth at once made a bid for the throne. He was helped by his brother-in-law, Somerled, who had himself set up a petty kingdom among the mixed Gaels and Norsemen of Argyll and its highlands. For three years the MacHeths held their ground. But Somerled was drawn away by a chance of making himself King of the Hebrides. Donald was captured and sent to keep company with his father in Roxburgh Castle (see § 3). The new King of England, Henry II, took advantage of Malcolm's youth to force him to give up the northern counties occupied by his father. Certain of the great Earls thereupon attempted to displace Mal-

colm, and give the throne to his brother William. Malcolm crushed this revolt without difficulty. Then he invaded Galloway, whose lord, Fergus, had been his most powerful opponent, and brought that province into subjection. Shortly after, Somerled of Argyll again threatened mischief. He took a fleet up the Clyde, but, ere anything could be done, he was slain by one of his own men in his tent at night. Somerled was the ancestor of the Macdougalls of Lorn and the Macdonalds, afterwards Lord of the Isles.

GREAT SEAL OF MALCOLM IV—OBVERSE.

GREAT SEAL OF MALCOLM IV—REVERSE.

Malcolm showed himself to be as able a King as the rest of his family, but he died young. Because of his delicacy and good looks he

GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM THE LION—OBVERSE.

as Rufus, 'the Red,' and as 'William the Rough.' As might be expected, his first concern was to recover Northumberland, lost by Malcolm. To accomplish this he gave his support to Henry II's rebel sons, and even sought aid of the King of France. But was called 'the Maiden,' as 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' was, long after, by the Gaelic poet.

9. *William the Lion and the Treaty of Falaise.*—William the Lion,* who followed his brother Malcolm, was an unlucky monarch. From his personal appearance he was also known

GREAT SEAL OF WILLIAM THE LION—REVERSE.

* Why so called is not known. The Alexanders, who follow, displayed the lion on their seal.

Henry and the King of France were, for the moment, at peace. William now led an army across the border, which broke up into plundering bands or gathered to capture some cattle. The town of Warkworth was burned to the ground, and a hundred of its inhabitants, who had taken refuge in a church, dragged out and massacred.

On the very day on which this occurred the invasion came to a sudden and startling end. A body of Yorkshire barons had ridden northwards to check the Scots. On a misty morning they found themselves under the walls of Alnwick Castle, where a small troop of knights were tilting in a meadow. One of the knights rode out to challenge the newcomers. But the English barons were not there for sport. A scuffle followed; the knight's horse was speared, and he was brought to the ground. He was then discovered to be the King of Scots. He had proved himself a true 'knight,' but an unwise King. The valuable prize was secured, and hurried off with his attendants to London. Henry sent him over to the Castle of Falaise, in Normandy, where he lay in irons. As the price of his release he had to acknowledge himself vassal of the King of England for his whole kingdom (A.D. 1174).

10. *Scotland a Vassal Kingdom.*—For fifteen years, therefore (1174-1189), the English King was beyond dispute the superior or overlord of Scotland. The chief Scottish castles received English garrisons. The Scottish barons became Henry's liegemen, and were bound to support him even against their own King. All matters of importance affecting Scotland had to be decided by Henry. William, when summoned, had to attend at his superior's Court in

England or Normandy. He could not put down disorders in his own country without Henry's leave. Such a state of things had never existed before in Scotland. At no previous time, then, had the kingdom been really subject to that of England. Fortunately, Henry's successor, Richard, wanted money for a crusade in the Holy Land, and by the *Treaty of Canterbury* (1189) sold back his feudal rights to the Scottish King for 10,000 marks. The English garrisons were removed, and Scotland was once more a free kingdom. But the English Kings still clung to some vague claim of superiority, and it never quite passed out of Scottish history.

11. *Revolts in Galloway.*—The results of William's rash folly at Alnwick did not end with his own capture and shameful release. At home the native Scots fell upon the English and Fleming traders who had been settled in the towns. The two brothers who were lords of Galloway raised their people, destroyed the royal castles, and drove away the royal officers with all who did not hold their lands by 'right of blood.' But they quarrelled. By Gilbert's orders his brother was seized, his eyes and tongue were torn out, and he was left to perish in agony. For this deed Henry, as overlord, compelled him to pay a heavy fine. But Gilbert played off Henry against William, whom he hated. He was willing to submit to the King of England, and, relying upon Henry's favour, he raided and plundered southern Scotland till the day of his death. William could not act against him without Henry's consent. But Roland, the son of the murdered brother, was growing up at the Scottish Court. He married a Norman lady, and his training made him

a Norman at heart. On Gilbert's death he drove his cousin out of Galloway, and, with the help of his Court friends, made himself master there. But he, too, had to accept the English King as his superior. William gave Gilbert's son the Earldom of Carrick, which, in turn, was to give Scotland a King. Roland, however, remained the King's fast friend and supporter, and on Henry's death William, as we have just seen, recovered his kingly rights.

12. *The Rise of the MacWilliams.*—In the North a new family of 'pretenders' had asserted themselves. Their head was Donald Bane ('the Fair'), son of William, son of Duncan, first son of Malcolm Canmore, who had held the throne for a brief term after his father's death. Donald had strong support, and for six years was really King in Moray and Ross. William led a great army against him, but Donald withdrew into the mountains, and the King had to be content with building forts and leaving garrisons to keep him there. Besides, he had his hands full with the difficulties in Galloway. When these were settled he once more set out to deal with MacWilliam. Roland of Galloway accompanied him, and falling in with Donald Bane and his followers near Inverness, defeated them. Donald was slain on the field. Towards the end of the reign his son renewed the struggle of the northern Gaels against Kings 'rather Norman than Scottish in blood, manners, speech, and life.' But he was betrayed by some of his men, beheaded, and hung up by the heels.

13. *William and the Earl of Caithness.*—William held his Northern dominions by very slender ties. The old Viking spirit and habits still survived.

Local chiefs sowed their land in spring and reaped their scanty crops in autumn. The summer they gave up to piracy along the coast, and they passed the winter in revelry. The Earls of Caithness and Orkney were, for the islands, subjects of the King of Norway; but when an Earl died, his lands were divided among his sons. These then usually fought with and destroyed each other. At this time Harald was sole Earl. He married a daughter of MacHeth, and in her name attacked Moray. He seized the Bishop of Caithness, who was in the King's interest, blinded him, and cut out his tongue. But William drove Harald to take shelter in the islands and wasted his lands. This was a new experience for the descendants of the victorious Vikings. Harald submitted, and had to redeem his mainland earldom with 2,000 pounds of silver. The days of an independent Earl of Caithness were over. Almost the last act of the Lion King was to force Harald's successor, John, to acknowledge his authority. From this journey he returned to die in his favourite residence at Stirling, having reigned for fifty years.

14. *The Burghs.*—In spite of his dangers and troubles William did not neglect the peaceful interests of his kingdom. The country was fast becoming prosperous. Manufactures and trade were increasing. The centres of industry were the burghs or towns. The name 'burgh' was English, and meant a fortified enclosure. Towns in which trade sprung up at first found it necessary to protect themselves in this way. Thus William had a ditch made round the burgh of Inverness, which the inhabitants, known as burghers, or burgesses, enclosed with a

stout paling. Some of these burghs were, to begin with, places to which goods were brought from abroad. Such was Berwick, which soon became the greatest of them all. Others, like Edinburgh, grew up under the shelter of a strong castle. A cathedral, too, attracted workers and traders to settle round it. Such a settlement became Glasgow. So, too, did a monastery, as happened with Dunfermline. A burgh belonged to the owner of the ground on which it was built. Those belonging to the King were royal burghs. All the burghs had special privileges. No one but a burgess could make or dye cloth; nowhere but in the burgh market could goods from home or abroad be bought or sold. All goods except those of burgesses had to pay a small toll or tax. These tolls went to the owner of the burgh. So did rents for the lands held by the burgesses, and every burgess was required to hold so much land with a house. The burgh had its Court, but the fines also had to go to the superior. It soon became the practice, however, for a burgh to agree to pay a fixed rent to its superior, and uplift its own revenues through officers appointed to manage its affairs, known as 'baillies.' At seaports, however, a tax or 'custom' was laid on all goods sent abroad, and was collected by the King's 'customers.' David I had encouraged the growth of burghs, but it was William who first issued charters to them, as he did to the great barons, in which all their rights and privileges were clearly set forth. Ayr, Perth, and Inverness can still show their charters from the Lion King. Most of the inhabitants of the burghs were of English stock or Flemings from

Flanders across the North Sea. They were the chief traders: the native Scots still preferred a country life. Thus the burghs spread the English language, and wherever they grew up they were centres of order and industry.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOLDEN AGE: ALEXANDER II (1214) ALEXANDER III (1249-1286)

1. *The Last of the MacHeths and MacWilliams.*—The reigns of the two last Alexanders are known as the 'Golden Age' of Scottish history—golden, because it was a time, on the whole, of peace, and altogether of growing national prosperity. The royal power was now strong and well organized, and so able to deal with any disorder easily and successfully. Alexander was seventeen when he was crowned at Scone on the day after his father's death. A rising in the North followed at once. It was headed by Kenneth MacHeth and Donald MacWilliam. But Moray, with its Norman barons and busy burghs, had no longer a welcome for such intruders on its peace. They were crushed by Farquhar Macintagart ('son of the priest'), who had succeeded his father in the lands of the old Celtic monastery at Applecross (see Chapter II, § 10). He carried to the King the heads of the leaders, and in return was knighted and created Earl of Ross. So ended the claims of the MacHeths and the royal line of Macbeth. Some years after another MacWilliam took the field. He, too, was

captured and executed with his whole family, down even to his infant daughter. Thus at last perished the rival stock of Donald Bane (see Chapter IV, § 6).

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER II—OBVERSE.

2. *Murder of the Bishop of Caithness.*—Farther north there was again a quarrel between the people and a Bishop of Caithness. 'The men of Caithness thought him rather hard in his episcopal government.' Earl John refused to protect him. Thereupon some of the 'worst men' shut up the bishop in a house and set fire to it, whereby he was suffocated. Earl John was held responsible for this outrage, and while the actual doers of it were mercilessly punished, he was fined and stripped of half his

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER II—REVERSE.

earldom, until he had paid a further large sum. But John was the last of his line, and when he died —as it happened, too, through the burning of his house—the southern part of his wide territory was erected into the Earldom of Sutherland. This breaking up of the great Earldoms of Moray and Caithness reduced the power of the Earls. There were to be no more troubles of the old kind from these quarters.

3. *Rising in Galloway.*—Since the days of the Battle of the Standard, Galloway, as we have seen, had been ruled by half-independent lords. They even possessed estates in England, and kept up close relations with the English King. Alan, the last lord, son of William's friend Roland, had been among the barons who forced King John to accept the Great Charter. They had covered Galloway with churches and convents. Now, Alan dying left three daughters, all married to Norman husbands. But the chiefs of Galloway did not wish to see their land divided, or to have Normans for their masters, so they begged the King to take the lordship for himself. When the King refused, they elected as their lord Thomas, a half-brother of the sisters, and invaded the districts near them. Alexander and the royal army were saved from disaster among the hills and swamps by the Earl of Ross and his Highlanders. The Galloway men were dispersed with great slaughter. All who came to the King's tent with ropes round their necks received a full pardon. Thomas fled to Ireland, to return next summer with a following of Irishmen. But the Galloway men were persuaded

to submit. Thomas was sent to prison for life. The captured Irishmen were taken to Edinburgh, and torn asunder by wild horses. Galloway was divided between the two surviving daughters of Alan. One of these, Devorgoil, or Devorgilla, was married to John Balliol, and was herself the King's cousin. When her husband died, she built to his memory the last abbey raised in Scotland, the beautiful 'Sweetheart' Abbey near Dumfries.

4. *Relations with England and France.*—Alexander, like his predecessors, hankered after the fair dales of Northumberland. King John and his barons were now at war over the Great Charter, and the barons agreed to let Alexander have the lost province in return for his assistance. The Scottish King accordingly came down with his barons to aid them, as far as Dover. But in the meantime John died. England, too, was now a fief of the Pope, who was supporting John, and Alexander found himself and his kingdom under the ban of the Church. This was a serious position, for it meant the silencing of Church services, the loss of the priest's blessing, and, as was thought, the closing of the gates of heaven to the people cursed by the Pope. On the withdrawal of the Scottish barons, and the payment of a heavy fine, Church and kingdom were reconciled. To John's successor, Henry III, Alexander at Berwick did homage for his English estates, including the Earldom of Huntingdon. That earldom had passed to him on the death of his uncle David, who had received it from William the Lion. David left only daughters, one of whom was the mother of Devorgoil

of Galloway, who married John Balliol the elder, while a younger sister married Robert Bruce of Annandale. Of these marriages were to spring the future rivals and Kings. Alexander now married Joanna, Henry's sister. But the English King did not cease to press the claim of supremacy, and even misled the Pope into supporting him. Alexander responded by reviving his claim to Northumberland. War seemed certain when the English barons came forward as peacemakers. With them the brave and genial King of Scotland was very popular, and if they had any serious quarrel with their own King they might need his support. So an arrangement was come to at York by which Alexander parted with his estates in the South of England, receiving instead those of Tynedale and Penrith—the former as a sovereign fief, for which he did homage; the latter as an ordinary feudal holding, for which he had to present each year at Carlisle a falcon for the English King. Henry, however, became jealous of the close connexion of Scotland with France, where he was prosecuting an unsuccessful war. On Joanna's death Alexander had married, as his second wife, the daughter of a powerful French baron. An unfortunate incident gave Henry his opening for a quarrel. Walter Bisset, a Scoto-Norman, who had lands near Beauly, had been unhorsed at a tournament near Haddington by the young Earl of Atholl. Some of Bisset's followers thereupon burnt down the house in which Atholl was staying, so that he perished with two of his men. Bisset was banished, and his Northern lands forfeited—some afterwards

to become the property of another Norman family, the Frasers. He carried his complaint to the English King, and preparations were made for an invasion of Scotland. Great armies gathered on both sides of the Border, but the English barons again forced a peace. Neither King, it was agreed, was to help the enemies of the other, or attack, except in self-defence.

5. *Alexander and the Isles.*—All hope of extending the kingdom southwards being now given up, the King turned his attention to the West. The islands there still pertained to the King of Norway. Early in his reign Alexander had established his power more firmly in Argyll, which was ruled by the descendants of Somerled; the head of the clan Dugall in the North, and the head of the clan Donald in Islay and the southern mainland. Chiefs and people submitted to Alexander, but for the islands their superior was the Norwegian King. Such an arrangement was bound to cause friction, and so Alexander tried to induce King Haco to give up his rights, even offering to buy them. But Haco would not be persuaded, and declared he 'had no need of money.' Alexander determined to use force. He gathered a fleet in the Clyde, and declared he would 'set his standard east on the cliffs of Thurso, and reduce under himself all the provinces which the Norwegian monarch possessed to the westward of the German Ocean.' But by the time he reached Oban Bay he was seriously ill, and he was landed on the island of Kerrera to die. By his own request his body was laid in Melrose Abbey. Not he, but his son, was to be the 'Tamer of the Ravens' of Norway.

6. *Alexander III—His Coronation.*—Only eight years old the young Alexander was immediately crowned in Scone Abbey. The solemn oaths taken by the Sovereign on such an occasion were first repeated in Latin, the language of the Church and of culture, and then explained in Norman - French, the speech of the Scottish Court.

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER III—OBVERSE.

After the ceremony the King took his seat outside on the Stone of Destiny, the sacred slab of sandstone said to have been brought with the Scots from Ireland. Here the nobles knelt and did homage. Finally, an old Highlander stepped forward, and, bowing to the King, repeated in his 'mother-tongue'—Gaelic—the roll of the royal ancestors

GREAT SEAL OF ALEXANDER III—REVERSE.

back to the first King of Scots who ruled in Alban. None could foresee that with Alexander himself the ancient Celtic line was to close.

7. *The 'King's Friends' and the 'Queen's Gainsayers.'*—The Scottish nobles, native and Norman, were now closely united by intermarriages and their interests as a favoured class. Their quarrels became the quarrels of ambition, not of race. The King being under age, two powerful parties strove for the control of the kingdom during his minority. This was to be a familiar state of things in Scottish history. At the head of the one party was Alan Doorward, or Durward, a gallant and able soldier, who held the position of Justiciar, or Chief Justice. With him were Robert Bruce of Annandale and Alexander, the High Steward. They had also the support of the King of England, to whose little daughter Margaret King Alexander was married at the age of ten. This party called itself the 'King's friends.' On the other side were the Comyns, the most powerful family in Scotland, numbering among its members two Earls and more than thirty knights. The head of the family was the Earl of Mentieth. The Comyns were backed by their relative, John Balliol of Galloway. Their opponents dubbed them the 'Queen's gainsayers,' or opponents. But the fact that they were thus clearly opposed to English interference won them the popular sympathy. For a few years they directed the Government. Then Durward easily persuaded the English King to assist him in placing his own friends in power. The child-Queen, too, was not comfortable in the hands of the Comyns. She complained that she

was confined to Edinburgh Castle as a place of residence—'a dismal and solitary fortress,' as she described it, 'exposed to the unhealthy air from off the sea.' So, while Henry hurried with an army to the Border, the Durwards seized the castle with the King and Queen, as well as the Great Seal, with which all royal documents had to be impressed. Thus, possessing the symbols of Government, the Durwards made up a new council of regency, in which Henry was, in a way, included as 'Principal Counsellor to the illustrious King of Scotland.'

8. *Fall of the Durwards.*—But the Durwards, as leaning upon the King of England, were unpopular, The Comyns were regarded as the national party. Moreover, the new Regents quarrelled with the Church, and by order of the Pope were excommunicated by the Bishop of Dunblane and the Abbots of Kelso and Melrose. Such a sentence cut them off from all fellowship with Christian men. It was out of the question that the country should be governed by excommunicated persons. The Comyns and their friends accordingly broke in upon the sleeping King at Kinross, and carried him off to Stirling. This was to become the favourite mode of changing the Government in Scotland. Durward fled to England, and his party broke up. To show their attitude to England the Comyns now made an alliance with the Welsh, whose independence also was in danger from that country. In the end, however, the two parties, in order to preserve peace, shared the government between them.

9. *The Battle of Largs* (1263), *and the Conquest of the Hebrides.*—As soon as he came of age, Alexander

took up the task which had fallen from the dying hands of his father. Once more a strong appeal was made to Haco of Norway to surrender his claims on the Western Isles. But Haco was in a mood to do quite otherwise. The Earl of Ross and other northern lords, encouraged by Alexander, were raiding the islands. Haco took the sea with a large, well-equipped fleet to assert his authority. The half-independent chiefs of the Hebrides were forced to submit and join him. The King of Man eagerly brought assistance to Haco. Meantime Alexander made preparations to meet the invaders. The Sheriff or Keeper of the royal castle at Ayr was set to work building ships and supplying bolts for crossbows. The burgesses of Ayr were ordered to garrison the castle, and as they refused to do so, the Sheriff had to hire soldiers. Haco brought his fleet into the Firth of Clyde to make himself master of the islands there. Some of his allies from the Hebrides sailed up Loch Long, dragged their light galleys over the isthmus from Arrochar to Tarbet, crossed Loch Lomond, and harried the fertile plain of Lennox, carrying away much plunder. But the gales of early autumn blew upon Haco's ships and scattered them. Several were driven ashore at Largs, where the shipwrecked crews were hemmed in between the hills and the stormy sea. The peasantry, summoned by the blazing beacons, gathered with their spears and bows, and fell upon the unlucky Norsemen. The Steward, who owned Bute, brought up a body of knights. Fighting went on all day, till at evening boats came from the rest of the fleet and with difficulty managed to carry

off the remnant of the shipwrecked crews. Haco, discouraged by his losses of ships and men, coasted northwards again. Wherever his men attempted to land they were set on by the western Scots. After a stormy voyage he reached Kirkwall, where, an aged man unable to bear such hardships, he fell ill and died. Alexander followed up his advantage by sending a strong force under Alan Durward, the High Constable, to subdue the Isles. The King of Man gave in without a struggle. Three years later the son of Haco ceded all the Western Isles to the Scottish King for a payment of 4,000 marks and a yearly rent of 100 marks, known as 'the Norway Annual.' Orkney and Shetland, however, still remained with Norway.

10. *The Scottish Church and the Pope.*—It has been already noted how the Scottish Church secured its independence. No English Archbishop was to be its head, but the Pope alone. But not even to the Pope would the King or the Church blindly submit. William the Lion forced a bishop on St. Andrews against the wish both of the native clergy and of Rome. Alexander III would allow no Papal official to enter his kingdom without his permission. When the Pope ordered that the Scottish Church should pay to the King of England a contribution towards a new Crusade to drive the Turks out of the Holy Land, he was met with a refusal. The Scots would send Crusaders of their own. A small band of knights set out to join the main army under 'Saint' Louis IX of France, among whom was the Earl of Carrick, who was never to return. His widow married Robert Bruce,

son of the Lord of Annandale, who thus received the earldom. When next the Pope demanded a payment towards the expenses of a Crusade, it was to be made to himself, and accordingly he received a tax of the tenth part of the whole property of the Church.

11. *Alexander and the Claim of Supremacy.*—At the time of Alexander's marriage to his daughter the wily Henry III had tried to get the boy-King to acknowledge him as his superior. But that, Alexander said, was a matter for his Great Council, and Henry did not press him further. A new King now sat on the throne of England, whose name was to be carved deep upon Scottish history. To Edward I Alexander, as an English baron, had to do homage. The Earl of Carrick went through the ceremony of kneeling and taking the oath of fealty on behalf of the Scottish King. 'I become your man,' said Alexander, 'for the lands which I hold of you in the kingdom of England, for which I owe you homage, saving my kingdom.' The report continues thus: 'Then said the Bishop of Norwich, "And saving to the King of England, if he right have, your homage for your kingdom"; to whom the King immediately answered, "To homage for my kingdom of Scotland no one has any right but God alone, nor do I hold it of any, but of God."' There was need for Alexander to be firm and careful with the able statesman and soldier who was now his neighbour. Already Edward had begun to press his feudal rights over the Scottish nobles, including the King, who held lands in England, demanding their service and aid in money against the Welsh.

12. *Tragic Death of the King*, 1286.—The closing years of Alexander's reign were saddened by family losses. His gentle and beautiful English wife died in 1275. Five years later she was followed by her younger son, and three years after died her only daughter, and the Prince of Scotland. Her daughter had been married to Haco's grandson, Eric of Norway, and left a child, Margaret. Alexander himself was now childless. The succession passed to the infant Princess of Norway. Alexander, therefore, summoned his Great Council, and thirteen earls, eleven bishops, and twenty-five lords accepted the Maid of Norway as heiress to Scotland, the Hebrides, Man, Tynedale, and Penrith. But the King, forty-four years old, was still a man in his prime, and he married again. In March of the year after he attended a meeting of his Council in Edinburgh, assembled to deal with the case of the imprisoned Thomas of Galloway. After the business came a jovial feast, while outside raged a terrible storm. Nevertheless, Alexander determined to ride home to his wife, who was at Kinghorn, in Fife. The ferryman sought to stop him and his three squires at the Queen's Ferry; the master of the royal salt-works at Inverkeithing begged him to go no farther. But there was no staying the doomed King, who laughed at fear. With two guides he pushed on. Soon in the thick darkness even the guides lost their way. The riders could no longer see each other, and trusted themselves to the instinct of their horses. Suddenly the King's horse stumbled, missed its footing, and pitched over the cliff with its rider. Alexander was picked up dead.

13. *A Dark Outlook.*—Alexander III was a tall, strongly-built man of a frank and kindly nature. He was most popular with the people, for he was 'loyal, loving, and liberal,' so that 'all wept his loss.' He was the last of the 'Kings of peace.' With but little fighting he had brought the Hebrides within the bounds of his realm. There was no longer anything to fear from Norway. Luckily his father and himself had, for the greater part of their reigns, to face Kings of England who were unskilful and rash, against whom their own barons rose in arms. While England was in confusion, and her wealth was wasted in vain wars, Scotland had strong kings and increasing riches. The English barons, too, distrusting their kings, did not encourage war between the countries; and the Scottish barons, holding estates in England which they had no wish to lose, were of the same mind. Now when Scotland was suddenly robbed of the wise guidance of Alexander, a strong-willed and ambitious King filled the throne of the southern kingdom. The leading barons in Scotland were divided in their interests and allegiance. Their head was, for the first time, a girl, and a child besides. Well might the unknown poet pray for 'succour' to a kingdom left in such 'perplexity.'

CHAPTER VII

MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND

1. *Races and Languages.*—Scotland was now occupied by several races. But racial wars had ceased. With peace and the spread of industry the different peoples had settled down and begun to mix freely with each other. In the islands and along the northern and western shores was a mingled stock of Gaels and Norse, which the purer Gaels of the inner glens called the Gall-Gael, or the 'stranger-Gaels.' English from the Lowlands had spread along the east coast, and were settled in the towns. The south was part English and part British or Welsh. Norman barons with their followers were everywhere. They married into the leading Celtic families, and so acquired earldoms and lordships in the heart of the Highlands and in Galloway. The Scoto-Norman ruling class spoke French ; English was the language of trade, and in the more open districts was displacing the native Gaelic. French disappeared before the end of the thirteenth century.

2. *Bondmen and Freemen.*—But there was a social division common to the people as a whole. Many were unfree bondmen, or serfs. They were labourers on the land, and could not remove from the estate on which they were born. If they did so they became 'fugitives,' and could be pursued and brought back. To be at liberty to go where he willed was the mark of a freeman. The bondmen were transferred with the land from one lord to

another. 'All that they had was their lord's.' They might even be disposed of apart from the rest of the property. In the reign of Alexander II the Prior and monks of Coldingham bought a serf, with his sons and daughters and all his descendants, for three marks.* The Kings made gifts to the Church of bondmen and their families. But the hard times coming brought freedom to this class. Every man was needed for the wars, and to be a soldier was to be free. The needy nobles preferred to get rent in place of the right to make the bondmen work for them. Thus the landless, servile class gradually disappeared. Next to the bondmen came the 'husbandmen,' who had small holdings, and paid a rent partly in produce, partly in work at special seasons, such as seedtime and harvest. Higher than these were the 'farmers' proper, who took lands at a fixed rent from year to year. These were a most important class.

3. *Cultivation of the Land.*—Under Celtic conditions the people had been mostly herdsmen and shepherds.† But as the land was divided up and the population increased, agriculture became more and more necessary to supply sufficient food. William bade his barons and clergy 'to live like lords and masters upon their own domain, not like husbandmen and shepherds, wasting their lands

* A mark was 13s. 4d.

† Whence the extensive rights in land possessed by the early Kings, enabling them to make such great grants to nobles and the Church. In a pastoral community all land not in actual occupation is in the gift of its head. Compare the case of the many estates belonging to the Czar of Russia.

and the country with multitudes of sheep and cattle.' The Alexanders insisted upon every man tilling his land. But the chief agents in extending and improving agriculture were the monks. Every monastery was a model farm. Better cattle and

PLOUGHING.

sheep and horses were brought into the country. The Scottish knights at the Battle of Largs rode upon Spanish steeds. The Normans were also great hunters, and deer, wild boars, and wild fowl abounded in the forests scattered over the whole country.

4. *The Food of the People.*—The chief crops raised were oats, barley, peas, and beans. Eight or twelve oxen were needed for the plough, and for this reason the smaller farmers had to combine and till their land in common. They thus lived together in small 'vills,' or villages, and ground their corn at the lord's mill. Wheat was grown on the sunnier fields of the south, but it was the food of the rich, being four times as dear as oats. Ale was a common drink, but for the wealthier folk there was wine from France. The principal flesh food of the lower classes was pork. Herds of swine were fed in the forests round the cleared land. On the grassy hills and moors of the Lowlands were great

flocks of sheep; and the wealthy consumed much beef. Cheese was made everywhere, but especially in Forfarshire. Great numbers of poultry and geese were to be found on every homestead. With the approach of winter, when the pasture failed, the bulk of the herds had to be slain, and salted for winter use as 'marts,' whence we get the date Martinmas (November 11). Of fish there was an abundant supply, and on the fast-days of the Church nothing else was eaten. The salmon was, of course, a 'royal fish,' and there were special rules as to its capture. But white-fish, herring, eels, and even porpoises were familiar food. Foreign fishermen also frequented the seas of 'fishy Scotland.' Daintier foods, such as figs, rice, raisins, etc., were brought from abroad. Spices from the East improved the cooking, and foreign sweets and home-grown fruits had their place on the table of those who could afford them. But even with such resources Scotland had often difficulty in feeding itself, and corn was commonly imported from England and Ireland.

5. *Houses and Castles.*—Houses were still built almost entirely of wood, or of basket-work filled in with turf and thatched. When Alexander III built for himself a 'new hall' in the north, it was made of 'boards.' There was thus a constant danger of fire, and in one year eight towns were burnt to the ground. The common fuel was peat or wood, but the monks of Newbattle Abbey were already working the coal near Dalkeith. The nobles, meanwhile, were fast putting up castles of stone—thick walls defended by towers and enclosing wooden

buildings. These were now usually built near water, so that they could be surrounded by a water-filled ditch or 'moat.' As rents were paid mostly in produce, the lords had to move from place to place with their families and retainers in order to consume their stores of food. Thus the Court was never long settled in one place, and Alexander III had castles or halls in nearly every county of southern Scotland.

6. *Commerce and Manufactures.*—Of the country's produce what could not be fully used at home was sent abroad. Such were hides, fleeces, wool, and cured fish. Scotch pearls sold high in England. All classes engaged in this overseas trade. Kings, nobles, and abbots, as well as the merchants, had their ships which carried cargoes from their estates to Flanders or France, and brought back corn, fine cloths, wines, iron goods, and delicacies. Trading was no dishonour in Scotland, and there, in contrast to other countries, the landed gentry and the people in business were, consequently, on good terms. The burgesses were not as a class in opposition to the nobles. Even the Celtic Lord of Argyll had his trading ships. The same was the case in certain manufactures. The principal one was salt, made from sea-water in shallow 'pans.' William the Lion had many salt-pans, as also had his successors. Monasteries received such works in gift. Ships were built in most of the Scottish ports. A 'wonderful vessel' was built for a crusading French lord at Inverness. There wood was abundant, but the skilled workmen had to be brought from foreign countries. Trade overseas had, of course, its

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AMAR SINGH COLLE

special risks. Ships putting into English ports were sometimes seized, and released only on an order from the King. Pirates haunted the coasts. But trading ships were easily turned into ships of war. A rich citizen of Berwick, Canute by name and so probably of Danish blood, had one of his vessels with his wife in it carried off by an Earl of Orkney. He thereupon sent against the Earl a fleet of fourteen ships fitted out at his own expense.

7. *The Burghs and the Merchant Guild.*—At home all buying and selling was confined to the burghs, in which were also weekly markets and yearly fairs held in the open space round the market cross. To these came the country folk and strangers to dispose of their goods. The merchants of a burgh were formed into a 'guild,' or brotherhood, under strict regulations. No one but a member of the guild or a 'stranger merchant' could traffic in the leading articles of sale—cloth, hides, or wool. No business could be done before a bell rang at a certain hour. No one was allowed to buy goods on their way to the market, so as to limit the supply; or to buy up all there was of any sort of food, so as to make it dearer. All articles for sale were tried by officers of the burgh, who saw to it that they were of proper quality, and sold at a fair price. The first Scottish coins, 'sterlings,' or silver pennies, were issued by David I; Alexander III added half-pennies of silver. By far the richest and most populous of all the burghs was Berwick. Burgesses who were merely workmen, such as dyers, shoemakers, butchers, glovers, etc., were kept to their trades, and could not be merchants or members

of the guild without first ceasing to be workmen. But the 'craftsmen' in time came to have guilds of their own. The ruling officials of the burghs were the baillies, who, if the burgh was free and not still controlled by its superior, were elected by the community. They collected the tolls on articles sold in the burgh markets. They had courts for the punishment of offenders against the burgh laws. They made rules for keeping the streets clean—no easy matter when rubbish was usually thrown where it was most easily got rid of. All the burgesses took their turn in 'watching' the town by night. Persons suffering from disease were sent to a hospital, or 'spittal,' outside the boundaries. A very common disease was leprosy, brought on by the eating of so much salt meat and fish. Incurable lepers were kept outside, but allowed to beg at the gates. The aged and the poor also had their hospitals. 'No burgh was complete without a hospital—no royal burgh without a castle.'

8. *The Friars.*—Provision for helping the poor was made also in the monasteries. The monks, however, had settled mostly in the country. A new order of 'religious' now appeared in the towns. These were the Friars (*i.e.*; 'brothers')—followers of the rule of St. Dominic, Black Friars; or of St. Francis, Grey Friars—so called from the colour of their gowns. The Black Friars were great preachers. The Grey Friars soon became famous for their learning, and the first great Scottish scholar, John the Scot, was a Franciscan. The Friars were expected to support themselves entirely by begging, so that hey might be free from the temptations of the

monks. But in time they ceased to observe this rule, and acquired much wealth. Their houses were built in the towns, and they worked among the poor, teaching the people cleanliness and simple rules of health. In fact, the Church, in its different branches, entered closely into all the operations of daily life. Its members not only did the special work of clergy, but were also the lawyers, doctors, teachers, artists, architects, and writers of the time. The Abbey of Dunfermline had schools in Perth, and that of Kelso had schools in Roxburgh. 'Clerk' is the same word as 'cleric,' and, as a rule, only clerics were able to read or write, or thought it worth while to learn. Books were kept and copied in the monasteries, and the histories were written by monks.

A PREACHING FRIAR.

9. *Justice and the Courts.*—The chief business of the Scottish Kings in time of peace was the administration of justice. There were many kinds of courts and forms of trial. A man accused of an offence might defend himself by bringing a number of neighbours of good repute who swore that he

was innocent. This was called *Compurgation*, or clearing oneself by the help of others. If he were unable to do this he might undergo the trial by ordeal. Blindfolded, he walked among red-hot ploughshares, or he dipped his hand in boiling water.* If he escaped injury, or if, after a few days, his burns were healed, he was declared innocent. Either way his chance of getting off was small, but to be without friends was a sign of a bad reputation. The ordeal was usually carried through in the presence of the clergy, as God was supposed to bring about the result. So when the Church came to disapprove of this method it passed out of use. Another form of appeal to the judgment of God was for the parties to fight a duel. The defeated one was adjudged guilty. This was 'trial by combat,' or the 'wager of battle.' The parties had to be of equal rank. The greater and lesser barons might employ a 'champion' to fight for them. This judicial duel was introduced by the Normans; the burgesses preferred compurgation. From King David's time, however, the practice grew of having a case settled by the judgment of the 'good men' of the district, or freeholders, as a sort of jury. To the great landowners was given the right of holding courts with power of 'pit and gallows.' On the gallows men were hanged, in the 'pit' women were drowned. Courts were held in the open on a 'moot,' or

* There is no account in the Scottish records of any actual trial by ordeal, though the right to impose such a form of trial is found among the privileges granted by charter to the great monasteries.

meeting-hill. Those having the right to hold courts were responsible for the 'peace' of their district. But the 'King's peace' and the King's courts tended to limit the power of the others. A new royal official took a leading place in the country—the Sheriff. His chief duties were as keeper of the royal castle in his sheriffdom, or shire, and receiver of the royal revenues. But he also held a court at fixed periods. Over all was the King himself, who did justice as he moved from place to place. To carry out the work in his name Justiciars were appointed, one for each of the old divisions of the kingdom—Lothian, Galloway, and beyond the Forth. In time there was one north and another south of the Mounth, or Grampians. The Justiciar held his court three times a year in the head burgh of the shire. The more serious offences came before him, such as murder or robbery. To certain sacred places was granted the privilege of 'sanctuary,' or protection to criminals, who might there take refuge, and be safe until their case was fairly tried, or they made satisfaction to the wronged person. There they were in 'the King's peace,' and to break that 'peace' meant a fine of many cows.

10. *The Chief Officials and the Army.*—The King was assisted in the government by the officers of State. The Chancellor kept the Great Seal, and through his hands passed all official documents. The Chamberlain received the royal revenues, and also looked after the burghs. The Steward managed the King's household. This office lost importance when the family which first held it came to the throne. The Constable and the Earl Marshal

directed military matters, the latter having specially to do with the mounted knights. Some of these offices pertained to particular families. The Fitz-Alans of Renfrewshire were hereditary High Stewards, and the Keiths became hereditary Earls Marshal. The army was partly provided by the feudal barons, who held their lands on condition of supplying knights or mounted men-at-arms. Thus for Annandale Bruce had to contribute ten knights. Bishops and abbots, as landholders, came under the same rule, and sometimes bishops themselves took the field. Each baron and prelate thus maintained a small army of his own, and they were able, when the country was unsettled, to carry on private wars. Besides the barons, the burgesses also had to supply soldiers, and under 'Scottish service' the whole body of freemen might be brought into the field. Every man had to provide himself with weapons and armour suitable to his means. The period for which he could be compelled to serve was about six weeks, and when the time was up he could claim to go home. Campaigns were thus usually short.

11. *The Royal Revenue.*—All the expenses of Government had to be paid by the King. The greater part of his income was made up by the rents of the Crown lands, which were very extensive, and were scattered up and down the country. In these were included the rents paid by the royal burghs. Then the King had the fines of the royal courts as well as the forfeited property of criminals. The barons had to make special payments on certain occasions, as when an heir succeeded to an estate. If the heir was under age the King took over the

management of his property, paying for his maintenance and education while he was thus in 'ward.' Or he might hand over or sell this privilege to one of his friends. If the estate came to an heiress, she could not marry without the King's consent, and if she did so had to pay a heavy fine. If the King was in special need of money, he might call upon his vassals to contribute an 'aid.' But the Scottish Kings of this time were rich men. The Alexanders had plenty of money for all purposes. Alexander III paid for the Hebrides out of his own pocket. The Kings were thus independent of the assistance of their feudal tenants, unlike the Kings of England. The country was engaged in no great wars to drain them of their wealth. Thus they needed to summon their Great Council of tenants-in-chief only for advice and support. This Council was as yet composed of the 'Two Estates'—the barons and the clergy; out of this body grew the Scottish Parliament.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE—I
JOHN BALLIOL (1292-1296)

1. *Rising of Bruce and his Party.*—Margaret, 'the King's daughter of Norway,' was now by her grandfather's choice Queen of Scotland. Six guardians were appointed to carry on the government; but to some at least of the nobles the prospect was not pleasing. In less than a fortnight after the death of Alexander, Robert Bruce of Annandale and his

son, the elder Earl of Carrick, had begun a civil war. They seized the castles of Dumfries and Wigtown. Edinburgh Castle, with some others, was put into a state of defence against them. Towards the end of the year the Bruces, Menteith, James the Steward, Angus Macdonald of Islay, and other barons, bound themselves by a written bond recognising a succession to the throne according to the 'ancient customs' of Scotland. It was not a 'custom' that a female should succeed. The Bruces, too, thought they had some right to move in the matter. In the reign of Alexander II, at a time when that King was as yet without children, Robert Bruce, of Annandale, the grandson of Alexander's uncle, David, had been chosen as next heir, and as such accepted by the Great Council. The birth of Alexander III put this arrangement aside. Bruce was now anxious to revive it. For two years a condition of war existed in southern Scotland, and then came to an end, we do not know how. Edward of England would seem to have interfered against the Bruces, as at this time we find him forbidding the Irish merchants to carry food to 'his enemies of Scotland.' The Bruces seem to have busied themselves mostly with annoying John Balliol of Galloway and raiding his lands, for Balliol, as also related to Earl David, was another obstacle between them and the Crown, and, as it turned out, the main one.

2. *The Treaty of Brigham and the Death of Margaret.*—To Edward the Bruces were enemies because their success would spoil his plans. By careful scheming he secured an agreement that the young

Queen should marry his son, Edward Prince of Wales, which would mean the union of the two crowns. But the Scots were most careful as to the conditions under which this should be brought about. These, as laid down in the Treaty of Brigham, were that 'the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland should remain for ever entire and inviolable,' and 'that the kingdom of Scotland should remain separate and divided from England, free in itself and without subjection.' The plan dissolved when the news 'sounded through the people' that the Maid of Norway, on her way to Scotland, had suddenly died in the Orkneys (1290).

3. *Appeals to Edward.*—At once the parties of Bruce and Balliol were in activity again. Bruce turned up at Perth with a strong following. Fraser, Bishop of St. Andrews, and John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, both Guardians, fell upon the lands of Bruce's friends in the North. They were acting in the interests of John Balliol. Fraser wrote to Edward begging him to come to the Border and settle the dispute, hinting at Balliol as the most suitable person to support. A body professing to represent the 'Seven Earls' of ancient Pictland (see Chapter IV, § 1), whose right it was to elect the King, laid before Edward the claims of Bruce. The situation was critical. Which claimant had the better right to succeed was 'a hard and knotty matter.' The Scottish nobles were divided, and the parties were equally matched. Only Edward seemed strong enough to give a decision which should be respected. The rivals, too, were his subjects for lands they held in England. But

Edward, as it turned out, was bent on serving his own interests; and the claimants, as the price of a crown, were prepared to bargain away the independence of the kingdom.

4. *The Competitors: Edward's Decision.*—Edward summoned the Scottish barons and clergy to meet him at Norham. At the same time he called on his lords in the northern countries to join him with their followers in arms. He had the cathedrals and monasteries rummaged for evidences from the chronicles kept there that Scotland was subject to the Crown of England. Then when the Scots gathered to meet him they were faced with a demand that, to begin with, they should recognize Edward as superior and overlord of their kingdom. No heed was given to the provisions of the recent Treaty of Brigham, which Edward himself had accepted. The King, indeed, under a show of legal right, was determined to bully the Scots into submission. They asked for delay. Three weeks later they one and all tamely gave in to Edward's demands. Only from 'the community,' the body of freeholders or small proprietors, did a protest appear in writing. It was dismissed as 'nothing to the purpose.' As events turned out, the opposition of this important part of the people was to show itself very much to the purpose. The case, however, now went into a long examination and discussion. There were in all thirteen 'competitors' for the crown of Scotland. Only two claims, however, were considered as of serious weight. Direct heirs having failed, John Balliol claimed as great-grandson of William the Lion's

brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter; Robert Bruce as grandson of the second daughter, and so, though of the younger line, a step nearer in relationship (see Chapter VI, § 4) A year after, following on much debate around this nice point, Edward pronounced his decision, in accordance with feudal law, in favour of Balliol. All other pleas had to give way to the fact that Balliol represented the elder branch of the family, Bruce the younger. The new King took the oath of fealty to Edward as his overlord, and was crowned at Scone on the last day of November, 1292—St. Andrew's Day!

GREAT SEAL OF JOHN BALLIOL—OBVERSE.

GREAT SEAL OF JOHN BALLIOL—REVERSE.

5. *Balliol as a Vassal King.*—Edward was not long in showing what he considered to be King John's true position. Any Scot who felt himself wronged might carry his case to the English Court, and Balliol would be summoned to stand his trial. Macduff, whom King John had deprived of his Earldom of Fife, took his grievance to Edward's ears. Balliol, summoned to explain his conduct, at first refused to come, and, when he did appear, pleaded that he must consult his Great Council. He was answered by a threat of punishment for his conduct. A wine-merchant complained that the King would not settle a debt incurred by Alexander III. Edward sent the Sheriff of Northumberland with a summons to his 'beloved and faithful' King of Scotland to come to England and explain why he did not pay the bill. But Edward now found himself in similar trouble with the King of France, his own superior for lands in that country. He was ordered to appear before King Philip and answer in the matter of a sea-fight between his people and some Frenchmen; but he would not hear of himself being treated as he treated King John. He replied by declaring war on France, and Balliol and the Scottish nobles were called upon to supply aid in men and money.

6. *Balliol Refuses Homage.*—This was more than the Scottish barons could stand. A Council met at Scone, and it was determined that the lords who favoured England should be expelled, and their estates taken from them. Among others, the elder Robert Bruce, whose father, the Competitor, was now dead, was driven from Annandale, and his lands given to Comyn, Earl of Buchan. As Balliol

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had shown himself so feeble, a committee of lords was selected to direct the affairs of the kingdom. An alliance was entered into with France, now Edward's enemy. Finally, Balliol declared he would no longer pay Edward the homage 'extorted from him by violence' (1295). As Edward was in difficulties with his own subjects and with Wales, as well as France, the occasion seemed a good one for throwing off his authority.

7. *The Fall of Balliol.*—This defiance was followed up by an invasion of England. A Scottish army under two of the Comyns appeared before Carlisle, which was successfully defended for Edward by the elder Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick. The Scots then traversed Tynedale, and are, as usual, accused of having done many barbarous things—among others, of having burned 200 'little clerks,' or schoolboys, in their schools. But meantime Edward was assaulting Berwick by land and sea. The citizens made a brave defence, beating back the Englishmen and burning some of the English ships. They much annoyed the long-legged King by making a 'mocking rhyme' about him, part of which ran thus :

'What weens* King Edward with his long shanks
To have won Berwick, all our unthanks ?'†

When at last Edward won the town he took a ferocious revenge. About 7,000 people, old and young, men and women, were slain in a two-days' massacre, so that, we are told, blood ran down the streets like a mill-stream. Even after the English

* Thinks. † Against our wishes.

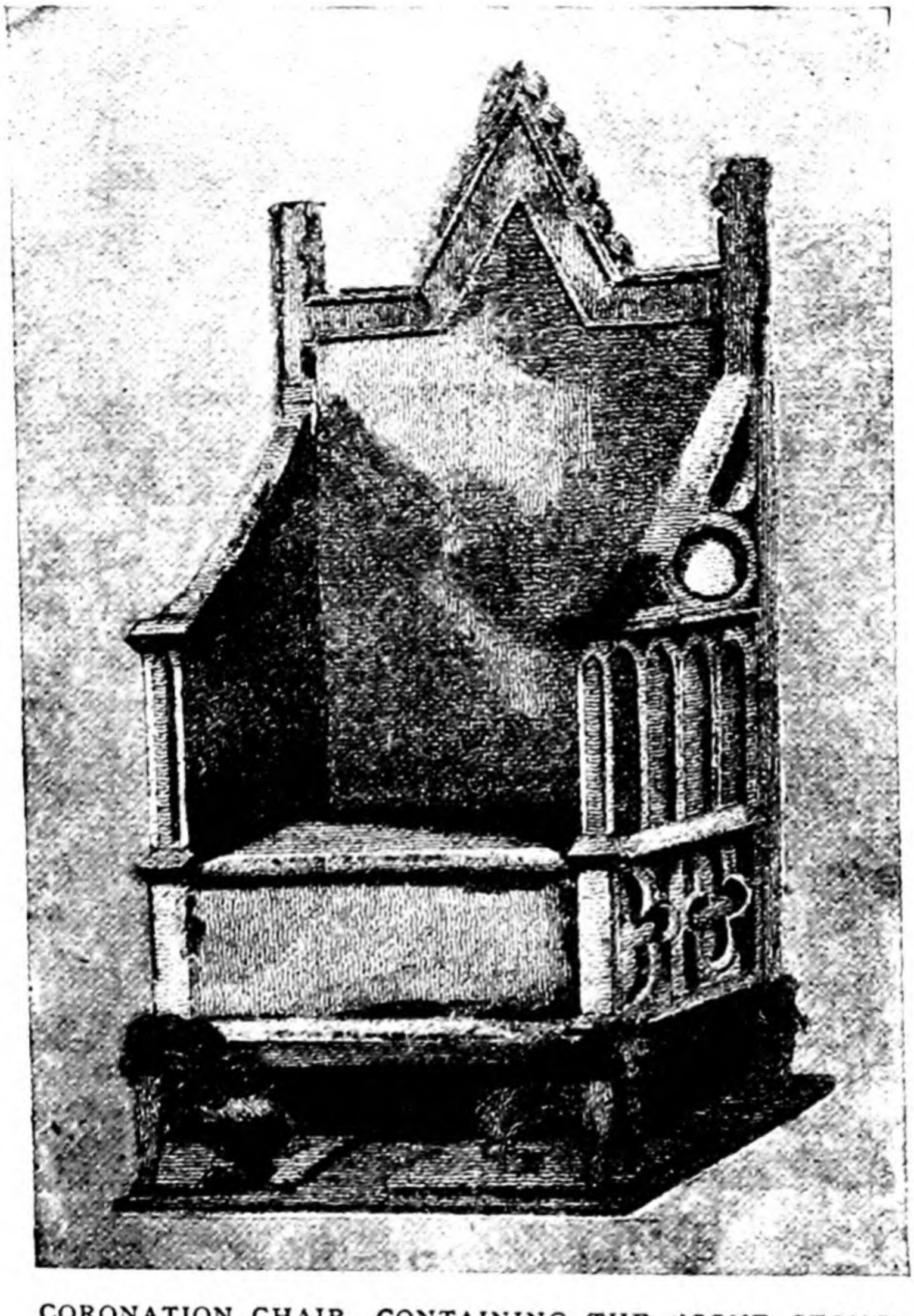
had entered the town some Flemish merchants continued to hold out in their building known as 'the Red Hall.' In the evening the Hall was set on fire, and its thirty defenders perished with it. The castle soon yielded, and its governor, Sir William Douglas, was imprisoned; but there was no slaughter of the garrison. Edward was, as yet, sparing to his well-born enemies, while merciless to humbler folk. Berwick never recovered from this savage handling. The wars were the ruin of her commercial greatness. A town in such an important position on the common border of two unfriendly countries, was no safe place for peaceful traders. It became a place of strength, to be fought over in every war, and to pass in blood and flame from hand to hand. The fall of Berwick was followed by the scattering of a Scottish army at Dunbar. The principal castles surrendered. There was no more resistance. The Scots had no single leader of sufficient ability or strength of purpose. The Bruces and Comyns could not combine, and 'the harmless rabble lay mangled far and wide over the land.' Balliol, chased into Forfarshire, gave himself up at Stracathro, and passed back to Edward the kingdom he had received at his hands (1296). He had been, as the Scots said, for three years and a half only a 'Toom Tabard,' an empty coat of arms, not a real King. Retiring to his lands in Normandy, he lived long enough to see Scotland a free kingdom once more.

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE—II
SIR WILLIAM WALLACE (1297-1305)

1. *Edward's Triumph.*—Scotland was now at Edward's feet. He marched, a conqueror, through the country as far as Elgin. Every one whose homage was worth having rushed to offer it. On his way home Edward lifted the 'Stone of Destiny' from Scone, the Black Rood, or 'Black Cross of Scotland,' a relic of St. Margaret, and the national documents. The Great Seal of Scotland was broken up. Of the Stone of Destiny, an old prophecy said that wherever it was a King of Scottish race should reign. It now lies under the seat of the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey. The Black Rood was specially useful as a national holy relic upon which the Scots nobles and prelates should swear to be loyal to their new master; but in those days oaths were readily taken and as readily broken. Edward himself, whose motto was 'Keep compact,' never, so far as Scotland was concerned, kept a compact longer than it suited his purpose. Meantime 2,000 Scottish barons and clergy sealed their submission to England on the 'Ragman's Roll.' Young Robert Bruce received back the people of Annandale to 'the King's peace,' and Edward also declared his 'great esteem' for 'the good service' of the elder Earl of Carrick. The castles were 'stuffit all with English men.' English sheriffs were appointed. English ecclesiastics received posts in the Scottish Church. Even the Scottish nobles who supported

Edward were kept out of the chief offices. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was made Guardian, Cressingham

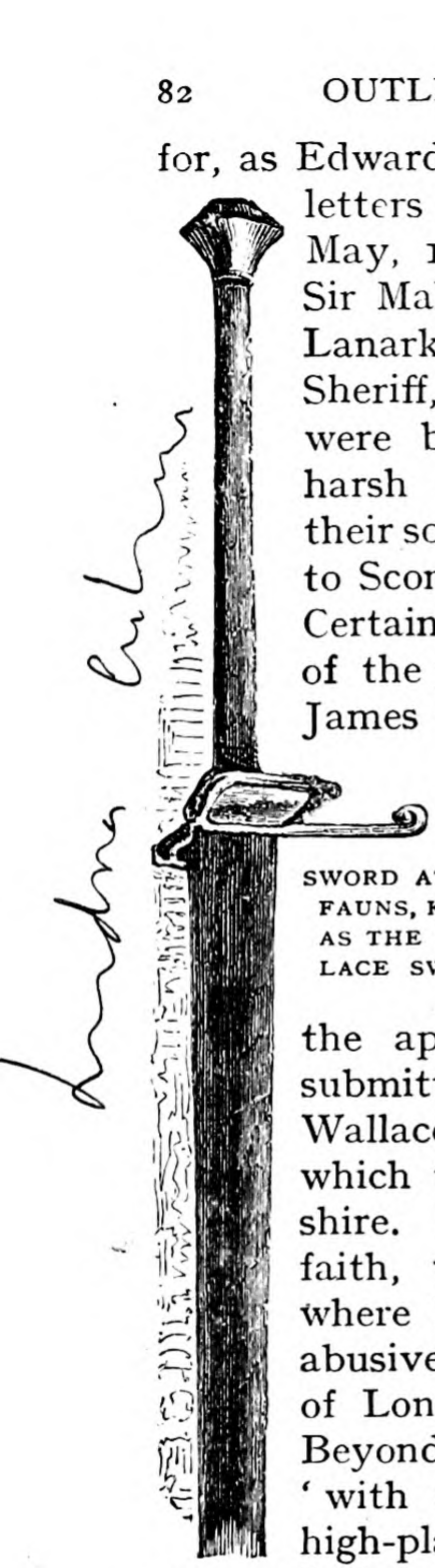


CORONATION CHAIR, CONTAINING THE SCONE STONE.

Treasurer, and Ormesby Justiciar. It was now the autumn of 1296.

2. *Revolt.*—Trouble began almost with the new year. A rising of some sort was then being arranged

for, as Edward ordered that anyone found carrying letters in Scotland should be arrested. In May, 1297, young William Wallace, son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, fell upon Lanark in the night-time, slew the English Sheriff, and set fire to the town. The people were being goaded into rebellion by the harsh doings of the English officials and their soldiers. Wallace next marched rapidly to Scone, and nearly captured the Justiciar. Certain of the nobles now took advantage of the popular revolt. The younger Bruce, James the Steward, Sir William Douglas, and Wishart, the Bishop of Glasgow, with their followers, burnt, slew, and plundered in Galloway, drove away English ecclesiastics, and settled down in a camp at Irvine; but on the approach of an English army they submitted, and promised to make amends. Wallace, however, held out in 'the Forest,' which then stretched from Selkirk to Ayrshire. Sir William Douglas, failing to keep faith, was imprisoned in Berwick Castle, where he continued 'very wild and very abusive.' He died a prisoner in the Tower of London, leaving a more famous son. Beyond the Spey Andrew Moray was out 'with a great body of rogues.' To the high-placed Englishmen the Scottish commons all along were merely 'rogues' and 'rabble'; but these were the men who fought the battles



SWORD AT KINFAUNS, KNOWN AS THE 'WALLACE SWORD.'

for independence. Cressingham, too, complained that 'not a penny' could be got from the Scots, who had not been accustomed to English forms of taxation. But Edward was embarking an army to deal with France, and he took with him out of harm's way five of the Comyns, Sir Simon Fraser, and the Earl of Atholl. His officers in Scotland had to do the best they could of themselves. Meantime Wallace marched north, rousing the people, and was joined by Andrew Moray with his 'rogues.' They set to work to besiege Dundee.

3. *Battle of Stirling Bridge* (1297). — The English Guardian was now forced to take steps to suppress a flourishing rebellion. A force of 1,000 mounted knights, with many English and Welsh footmen, was collected at Stirling, the key to the northern and north-eastern districts. There the Forth was crossed by a narrow bridge. Wallace marched rapidly south, and took up a position beyond the bridge, on the wooded slope of the Abbey Craig. He had about 150 horsemen, but the mass of his army was spearmen. The feeble Guardian at first tried to persuade the Scots to submit. Two friars went to Wallace to say that all would be forgiven if he and his men would come into the King's peace. 'Tell your friends,' Wallace replied, 'that we have not come here to ask for peace, but prepared to fight for the freedom of our kingdom.' Against wiser counsels the aged and stupid Surrey determined to advance over the bridge, where only two horsemen could ride abreast. That 'fat and foolish' churchman, Cressingham the Treasurer, also insisted on attacking. He did not

wish to 'drag out the war' and 'waste the King's treasure. It would have taken eleven hours for the whole body of English horse to cross the bridge; but Wallace did not wait so long. One division had crossed, and was forming up on the bank, when he launched his men upon it. The bridge-head was seized. Those on the farther side could bring no help to their fellows. One English knight by desperate fighting managed to cut his way back to the main body. The rest, consisting of about 100 horsemen and some thousands of foot, were either slain or flung into the river. Surrey left a small garrison in Stirling Castle, and hurried off with the remnant of his army to Berwick. The Castle fell to the Scots shortly afterwards 'from want of victuals.' Dundee was abandoned, and in a very short time there were no English garrisons in Scotland save at Berwick and Roxburgh. How much Wallace had accomplished in a single campaign is shown in a letter which, as one of 'the Generals of the army of the realm of Scotland,' he sent at this time to the two chief trading towns of the Continent. The merchants were to be told 'that they can have safe access to all the ports of the realm of Scotland with their merchandise, for the realm of Scotland, thank God! has been recovered by war from the power of the English.' The Scots had suffered in business as well as other ways from the insecure condition of the country, and it became part of the policy of Edward I and of his son after him to destroy their overseas trade.

4. *Wallace in England.*—Wallace now carried the war across the border. Under the snows of Decem-

ber the Scots harried the northern counties in the old merciless fashion. They plundered the convents and churches, so that 'the praise of God ceased in all the monasteries and churches of the whole province from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to Carlisle,' for 'all the servants of the Lord had fled, with practically the whole of the common folk, from the face of the Scots.' Wallace did his best to protect some of the churchmen and their goods, but it is certain that the invasion was marked by great ferocity. The raiders returned with much plunder, badly needed in southern Scotland, which the military operations of the year had reduced to a state of famine. Wallace was now knighted, and appears as 'Governor of Scotland' on behalf of the absent King John.

5. *Edward in the Field.*—The conquest of Scotland had thus all to be done over again. Edward called out his feudal array to the number of about 7,000 knights and mounted men-at-arms. The footmen were twice as many—almost all Welsh and Irish volunteers who came for the sake of the plunder. Wallace assembled an army of which by much the greater part was spearmen, while the rest consisted of small bodies of horsemen and archers. Now the actual fighting in a battle of that time was done by the horsemen in armour. Each man wore a complete suit of mail or chain-armour with pieces of plate, and a closed helmet. His horse, too, moved under a covering of mail. His chief weapons were a long lance and an iron club or a battle-axe. A man on foot was able to wear but little armour, even if he could afford it, and no one but a man of means

could. Thus on a fair field infantry were next to useless ; for there was no standing against charges of armour-clad horsemen. Yet Wallace's army was almost entirely composed of infantry carrying the twelve-foot pike or spear so dear to the Scots in all their wars. Edward, too, in his campaigns against the Welsh, had learned the use of the long-bow. The Welsh and English archer drew the bow-string

MAP OF CENTRAL SCOTLAND, SHOWING SITES OF BATTLE-FIELDS.

of a six-foot bow to his ear, and discharged a shaft a yard long with great force. The Scottish archers of Ettrick Forest used only the short bow, a much weaker weapon. Wallace seemed thus to be utterly outmatched : a fair stand-up fight would mean only disaster.

6. *Battle of Falkirk* (1298).—Wallace, however, was too wise to take any risks he could avoid. Edward crossed the east Border in June, and after

capturing some castles, reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But Wallace and his army were not to be found. The English provision ships had not arrived. The little food there was in the country was soon used up. The army was starving; the Welsh mutinied. Just when retreat seemed the only possible course two Scottish nobles, who favoured the English, arrived with the news that Wallace lay in the Torwood between Stirling and Falkirk. Edward at once hurried thither. There was now no avoiding a fight. But Wallace disposed his army in a way that was new to the art of war, and showed him as great a general as Edward himself. Against all usage the horsemen were kept in reserve, and the main fighting was thrown upon the men on foot. These were drawn up in four great masses, or 'schiltrons.' The front ranks knelt, and rested the butts of their spears on the ground. Those behind levelled their spears over their heads. In the centre of each schiltron was a group of mounted spearmen. The archers took up their position between the schiltrons and on either flank. The ground chosen was behind a broad morass, impassable for horsemen. This the English knights at once found to be the case when they tried to cross it. The warlike Beck, Bishop of Durham, led his company round one end and then paused to see what could be done. 'Be off to your Mass, Bishop,' shouted the reckless knights; 'don't try to teach us the art of war;' and from both sides a charge was made on the Scottish foot. Wallace's cavalry immediately fled; his archers were scattered; but the schiltrons were like rocks. There

was no breaking through those level lines of spears. Edward now came up with his main battle. His archers were brought to the front. They poured their deadly shafts into the close-set masses of Scots. Nothing could be done to check them : the Scottish chivalry was gone ; the archers had been cut to pieces. Gaps appeared in the schiltrons ; their lines wavered and shrunk under that fatal shower. Again the cloud of horsemen burst upon them, and they broke. The rest was sheer massacre. Wallace and some others escaped into the woods or across the River Carron. The long-bow had won the day. But had Wallace been able to secure his wings as well as his front, and had his horsemen stayed to deal with the English archers, the result might have been different—how different was to be shown hereafter. Falkirk was lost, but the heroic and skilful example set by Wallace was not to be forgotten. In London the victory was celebrated with great rejoicing.

7. *Comyns and Bruces again.*—At this stage we lose sight of Wallace. He ceased to be Guardian. The Scottish nobles, indeed, did not favour that position being held by a man of inferior birth. Wallace's strength lay in his success, and now he was a beaten man. He seems to have gone to France to ask the help of its King for his unfortunate country, and to get the Pope to interfere. King Philip twice arranged with Edward a truce for the Scots. Meantime resistance was kept up, with its centre in Ettrick Forest. The chief Scottish nobles, forgetting their oaths, were again in the field ; but the old feud was still alive. It showed itself

in the election of new Guardians. At a meeting in Ettrick Forest the Comyn or Balliol party and that of Bruce nearly came to blows. Sir John Comyn 'the Red,' of Badenoch, took the young Bruce, grandson of the Competitor, by the throat. Daggers were out, but nothing worse happened. Bruce, Sir John Comyn, and Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, were appointed joint Guardians.

8. *The Barons' War*.—Edward meanwhile was much hampered by difficulties with his barons over the question of taxation. He could not get money to pay his troops. The Pope called upon him to abandon Scotland, which, he declared, was his property as Head of the Church. He also commanded Edward to release the Scottish ecclesiastics whom he held in prison. Accordingly Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, was set free, and on the Gospels and the Black Rood, as well as other sacred objects, he swore for the fourth time to be true to the King of England. But any further right of the Pope to interfere Edward, supported by his barons, refused to acknowledge. So the struggle went on, and every year now saw an English army in Scotland. The Guardians offered no resistance on a large scale, but resorted to irregular fighting. The English garrisons were kept in a state of constant alarm by bodies of Scots. Edward was begged to send horsemen 'to ride upon them.' Outside the castles the English had no footing in the country. In 1302 the Scots were joined by the gallant Sir Simon Fraser, and, led by Comyn, they surprised the main body of the invading army at *Roslin*, and inflicted upon it a severe defeat; but this was the last glimmer of success.

Next year Philip of France deserted the Scottish cause. The Pope had been won over by Edward. The elder Bruce was dead, and the young Earl of Carrick, anxious about his English estates, had turned again, and received posts in Scotland in the pay of Edward. That King and his barons had at last come to an agreement. The way was thus open for a united effort to crush Scotland. A fresh army was embarked, and, with portable bridges for the crossing of rivers and many powerful siege-engines, sailed northwards. Before such an array the Scottish leaders gave up hope. Comyn and his friends surrendered in the early spring of 1304. The country, indeed, was exhausted. Comyn's men had 'nothing to fry, or drink, or eat, nor power remaining wherewith to manage war'; and Comyn, though he had done his best, had not the military genius of a Wallace or a Bruce. Only Stirling Castle held out for some months longer, even against the battering of thirteen siege-engines throwing heavy missiles. To get lead for these, Edward had all the churches near stripped of their roofs. The Queen and the ladies of the Court watched the siege from a window specially built in their house. The Earl of Carrick was active in sending material for the machines; and serving in the division of the Prince of Wales was his brother, Edward Bruce.

9. *The Fate of Wallace.*—Edward did not treat his noble captives harshly: they were confined or held to ransom. But there was no security as long as Wallace was at large. Everybody was now being hounded on to hunt down the patriot. Comyn and Fraser were promised a shortening of their exile if

they succeeded in taking him. Robert Bruce was employed in the same business. Ralph Haliburton, a Scottish prisoner from Stirling, was released on condition that he should 'help those Scots that were seeking to capture Sir William Wallace.' He was at last 'spied out' in or near Glasgow, treacherously seized, and handed over to Edward's sheriff at Dumbarton, Sir John Menteith. Hurried off to London, he was, on August 23, 1305, brought up for trial in Westminster Hall. He was charged with a long series of crimes: he was a robber, a murderer, a destroyer of churches, and a traitor—that is, he had made war upon England, and stood for the independence of his country. Of every cruel act with which he was charged the Scots themselves, in their turn, accused Edward. But Wallace, of course, was convicted. As a robber he was hanged, as a murderer executed; as an impious traitor he was mutilated, his head stuck on London Bridge and his body cut into four quarters, which were hung on gibbets at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. English writers gloated over the shameful end of the man who had dared to oppose their masterful lord; but for the Scots he became the popular hero of the great national struggle. The exploits of 'the Wallace wight' were, 150 years afterwards, made the subject of a long poem by a wandering minstrel known as *Blind Harry*.

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE—III KING ROBERT BRUCE, PART I (1306-1314)

1. *Murder of the Red Comyn.*—Once more Edward set about framing a constitution for the conquered kingdom. It provided a government made up of a committee of Englishmen, assisted by the Scottish members who now sat in the English Parliament. It showed a real desire to govern the country justly, with the help of the 'good men.' Grants were made for the repair of buildings injured during the war. But the well-laid scheme never got a full chance. Early in February, 1306, came the startling news that the Earl of Carrick had met John Comyn 'the Red,' Lord of Badenoch, in the Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries, and, with the help of some friends, slain him and his uncle. This was a blow from an unexpected quarter. The Earl of Carrick was high in the King's favour. He had seemed to think more of his wide lands in England than of his chances of becoming King of Scotland. He was not likely to be popular with the Scots. But all along he had been playing a double part. At the very time when he was helping in the siege of Stirling he had made a secret bond with his friend, Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, binding them to mutual help 'against all men' in view of 'future dangers.' It is not hard to guess what this meant. As a grandson of the Competitor, Bruce, an able and enterprising man, had not forgotten the family claim on the vacant throne. John Comyn, son of King John's

sister, was interested in the Balliol rights. Comyn, probably, would not make any bargain with his rival.

EDWARD III (1312-1377).

From a print in the British Museum.

The two had already been at each other's throat in the Forest of Ettrick seven years before. Now

Bruce struck, his followers rushed to 'mak siccar,' and for the third and final time the struggle for independence began.

2. *Battle of Methven—Bruce's Retreat.*—Bruce at once hurried to Scone, where the Countess of Buchan crowned him with a circlet of gold. This was the privilege of the family to which she belonged, but her brother, to whom it should have fallen, was on the English side, and her husband, a Comyn, was the new King's deadly foe. The attendance at the coronation was small. It included two Earls, Atholl and Lennox ; two Bishops, St. Andrews and Glasgow ; the Abbot of Scone, Bruce's brothers, and his nephew, Thomas Randolph ; James Douglas ; Alexander Fraser, brother of Sir Simon ; Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock ; and a few others. Edward, of course, was furious. He confiscated all Bruce's possessions both in England and Scotland. Old as he was, a man of sixty-eight, he at once made preparations for a fresh campaign. Meanwhile, at his order, the Earl of Pembroke, with a small force occupied Perth, the only town in Scotland having a wall. Pembroke's followers included Scots from his lands in Ettrick. Bruce, in the knightly fashion of the day, challenged the enemy to combat, and a fight was arranged for the morrow. Before night Pembroke surprised the King and his men as they rested in Methven Wood, and scattered them. Bruce, with the ladies and his chief officers, escaped to the hills. He was only 'a King of summer,' the English said. Randolph was captured, and saved his life by becoming Edward's man. The ladies were sent, under the care of Nigel Bruce and the

Earl of Atholl, to Kildrummie Castle, in Aberdeenshire, which Bruce was supposed to hold for Edward ; but the castle, with its inmates, was taken by the Prince of Wales. The ladies had fled for safety to the sanctuary of St. Duthac's Chapel at Tain. There was no 'sanctuary' for traitors, and they were seized and handed over to the English. The Queen and her daughter Marjory were imprisoned. The Countess of Buchan and Mary Bruce were confined in wooden cages inside the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh. Handsome young Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Atholl were hanged. More captures followed. Sir Simon Fraser, 'traitor and fickle,' was dealt with as Wallace had been, to the delight of the English song-writers. Lamberton was imprisoned, and the Bishop of Glasgow lay in fetters for nine years, when he was released, blind and ruined in health. Six times he had sworn fealty to Edward, and six times had broken his oath. Bruce did not forget the sufferings which 'the venerable father' had endured 'for the rights of the Church and our kingdom of Scotland.' Lesser men suffered in their degree. Knights, priests, and peasants mixed up in the rising were hanged without delay.

3. *Bruce in the West.*—But Bruce and his small following, hungry and hard pressed, had now reached the borders of Argyll. There he was set upon by the Macdougalls, whose chief had married an aunt of the murdered Comyn, and who were thus his blood enemies. The fugitives, however, drove them off by hard fighting. Neil Campbell procured some ships on the Clyde, in which the whole

party passed over to Cantyre, where young Angus Macdonald gave them shelter in Dunaverty Castle. The castle was captured by the English, only to find the birds flown. Among those on the hunt for the King was Sir John Menteith, who had received custody of Wallace. By January, 1307, he

GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT BRUCE—REVERSE.

Note the 'lion rampant' on shield and armour, as described on p. 85, § 5.

was in command of a fleet engaged 'to put down Robert Bruce and destroy his retreat in the isles between Scotland and Ireland.'

4. *Bruce's Return—The Douglas Larder.*—It is said that Bruce and his companions passed the winter in the island of Rathlin, off the Irish coast. This seems unlikely, seeing that Rathlin belonged

to an Irish lord who was a friend of the English, while the sea was covered with English and Highland galleys searching for the King. It has been suggested that he may have gone as far away as Orkney. In any case, he appeared early in February, 1307, on the coast of his own land of Carrick.

GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT BRUCE—OBVERSE.

There he learned bad news. His friends on the mainland had abandoned his cause. His two brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had made a descent upon Galloway with a band of Irishmen, only to be captured by the chief, Dougal Macdouall, or Macdougall, a Balliol and Comyn man, handed over to Edward at Carlisle, and hanged. Macdouall

was rewarded with knighthood from the Prince of Wales. Percy, the English Earl of Carrick, held Bruce's castle of Turnberry. In the night Bruce fell upon the soldiers in the village, slew them, gathered provisions and arms, and retired into the hilly country of Galloway. Douglas, meantime, visited his estate in Lanarkshire. Collecting some of his friends, he suddenly attacked the garrison of the castle in church, and killed them or made them prisoners. They found the castle open, helped themselves to the dinner prepared for the soldiers, then piled up the fuel and food, beheaded the prisoners, threw their bodies on the heap, emptied the wine-casks over it, and set fire to the whole. This was the 'Douglas Larder,'

> 'For meal and malt and blood and wine
> Ran all together in a mellyn (mixture).'

Each time the English reoccupied the castle Douglas took it by some stratagem, so that it came to be known as the 'Castle Perilous.'

5. *Bruce in Galloway—Battle of Loudon Hill.*—For about four months Bruce, with a few hundred men, found safe hiding among the moors and glens of Galloway. The whole district was surrounded and beset by English horse and foot. John of Lorn, with 800 Highlanders, hunted the hills. Bloodhounds were used. Spies and traitors were bribed to slay the King; and Edward lay with an army at Carlisle, fretting and fuming because the news did not come that 'King Hobbe'—*i.e.*, Bob—as he nicknamed him, had at last been taken. But Bruce baffled his pursuers, and even defeated a party of them on the hill-side above Glen Trool; then, slipping

through the ring of troops, he passed into Ayrshire, and was faced by his old foe Pembroke on the slope of Loudon Hill. Bruce chose a position where there was a bog on either side of him. In front he dug lines of deep trenches, leaving but one way of approach. Thus, when the horse charged up the hill, the Scots beat them off with their spears, and Pembroke had to withdraw. Another body of English Bruce drove into Ayr Castle, and then retreated again to Galloway. Edward himself was now on the move against him ; but on the shore of the Solway Firth the disappointed monarch, failing under age and illness, breathed his last, June 7, 1307. It was good news for Bruce. The English had sung :

'Tprot Scot ! for thy strife
Hang up thy hatchet and thy knife
While him lasteth the life
With the long shanks.'

The death of 'Long Shanks' was really the turning-point in Bruce's fortune. His easy and unwarlike son made a fruitless march into Ayrshire, and then returned to the enjoyments of his new position in London.

6. *Bruce's Supporters.*—Every year now improved Bruce's position. It is true he had been cursed by the Pope for his murder of Comyn in a church, and for breaking his oath to Edward ; but this, though unpleasant, did not much trouble him or his faithful Scots. The native clergy were on his side, for they feared being made subject to an English Archbishop. The 'false preachers,' it was complained, stirred up the people to his support. Many, with good reason, bore an ill-will to the new judges, and

preferred 'death to the laws of England.' Others, like James Douglas, had lost their lands. Thus the commons, who had given up the cause of Bruce after the disaster at Methven, now flocked back to his standard. The Comyns and their friends, indeed, held out against him to the end, but others of the Scottish nobles forsook the English cause. Even Sir John Menteith was won over by success. The oaths of these men, said a bitter English writer, were like 'frost in May,' wiped out by the rising sun.

7. *Recovering the Country.*—But the exposure and anxieties of these months had left their mark even upon the hardy frame of Bruce. During the winter following Loudon Hill he lay seriously ill at Inverury, in Aberdeenshire. Here he was in the unfriendly country of Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who made several attacks on his company. But in the early summer the King scattered Comyn's force and ravaged his lands. Fifty years afterwards the folk of the district still mourned the 'hership (wasting) of Buchan.' Douglas, too, was active. He recovered Tweeddale, and there captured the King's nephew Randolph, who again took service with his uncle. Edward Bruce entered Galloway, routed a body of English on the march, and speedily reduced the whole province. As a soldier Edward was 'outrageous hardy,' and careless of the odds against him. Bruce himself invaded Argyll and rid himself of the Macdougall family, who fled to England. The English in Scotland could do little or nothing to check these proceedings. Edward II sent able officers against Bruce, but gave them no proper sup-

port, and was constantly changing them. He was, indeed, on the worst terms with his own barons, and could not rely on their loyalty. When he led an army into Scotland, Bruce cleared the country of supplies, and the invaders had to retreat or starve. The Scottish King even crossed into England on several occasions. In contrast with former invaders, Bruce would not allow of the slaughtering of defenceless persons or the burning of houses. But the spoil from England was needed to keep his own army in the field. He made the people of the North pay him money to leave them in peace. The constant fighting had made southern Scotland very poor.

8. *Clearing the Castles.*—The country, however, could not be said to be won until the English garrisons were cleared out. But the castles of the time were very strong places compared with the means of attacking them. Even with powerful siege engines, which Bruce could not afford, a long time might be wasted in their capture. Usually they could only be starved into surrender. The fortresses and towns were therefore taken by some trick or surprise; 'some by battle, and some by fair speech and love.' Bruce himself led the way across the moat of Perth at midnight, with the water standing to his throat, to win that 'wretched hamlet,' as a French knight called it. The 'peel' of Linlithgow, built by Edward I, was taken by a peasant, who concealed some soldiers under a load of hay, and stopped his cart in the gateway, so that it could not be closed. Douglas and a small band crept up the walls of Roxburgh in the dusk and surprised the

garrison at a dance. Randolph, guided by a native soldier, climbed the steep face of Edinburgh Castle rock, and so made himself master of that important position. As soon as a castle was captured, Bruce had it 'tumbled' down or destroyed. He could not afford to garrison castles, and the English could not keep the country without them. At last the only important place in the hands of the enemy was Stirling, which was being blockaded by Edward Bruce. Much to the King's disgust, Edward made an agreement with the garrison that they should surrender if not relieved before St. John's Day, June 24, 1314. This was certain to bring about a pitched battle, the very thing Bruce wished to avoid ; for in the field every advantage lay with the English.

CHAPTER XI

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE—IV KING ROBERT BRUCE, PART II (1314–1329)

1. *The Preparations for Battle.*—Both countries now prepared for a great effort of arms. The English host assembled at Berwick early in June, 1314. It was an imposing array of soldiers from all parts of Edward's dominions—from Wales, Ireland, and his lands in France, as well as the home country. Of its numbers it is not possible to give an exact account, but those who saw it thought it the most splendid army that had ever gone out of England, and that the Scots would be quite unable to resist it. There were some thousands of mounted men, all well protected by armour, and very many of them having their horses protected by armour as well. Then there were the archers, each with his

long-bow, as tall as himself, and his quiver with twenty-four arrows. On the other side Bruce had an army which the English outnumbered by at least three to one. He had few horsemen and archers; his men were almost all on foot and armed with spear and axe. But, as the English had to find him and fight, he could choose his own position, and this he fixed in the New Park, a little south of Stirling, which was covered with trees—a great obstacle to horsemen. Here he commanded the only two roads to the castle—one through the Park itself, and the other by the flat land between the hilly Park and the River Forth, on which, however, were many pools and muddy places where horsemen in heavy armour would be in no little danger. The entrance to the Park road Bruce was to defend himself, and on the open land on either side of it he had dug a great number of 'pots,' or small, deep holes, the mouths of which were hid by sticks and grass. Having these on each side, he could not be surrounded. Randolph, now Earl of Moray, was posted on the high land at St. Ninians, nearer Stirling, to watch the way over the level ground. Which road the English would choose to attack by no one could tell, so the rest of the Scottish army under Edward Bruce, Douglas, and the Steward, was placed in reserve to help where they saw need.

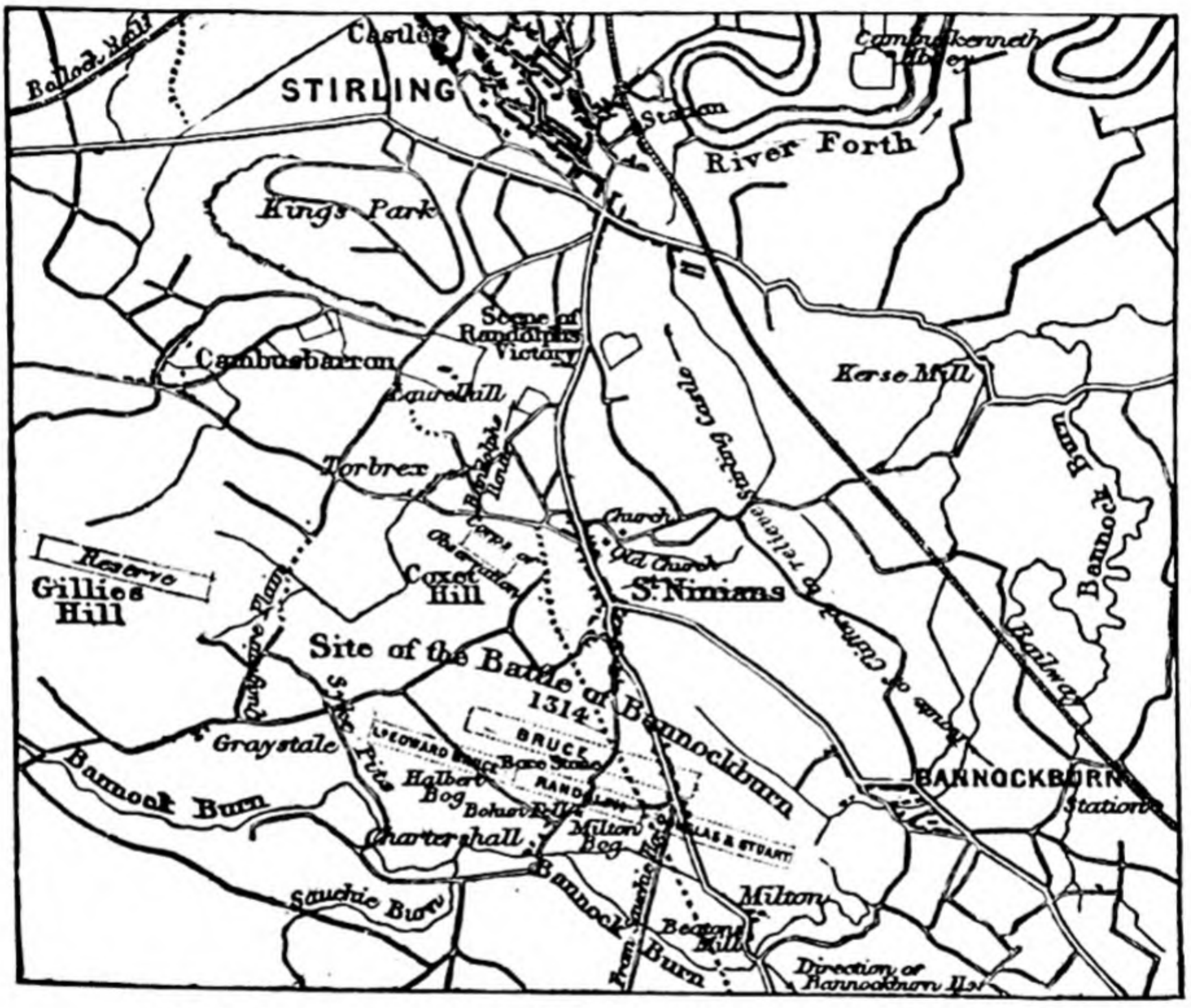
2. *The Eve of Bannockburn.*—As it happened, the English first tried both ways. They came in sight on the afternoon of Sunday, June 23, tired with marching in the great heat, but with their glittering lance-points, hundreds of flags, and the white tunics over the armour of the knights, making a magnificent

show. The vanguard, seeing the Scots moving about the trees in front, advanced against them, and one of their leaders, Sir Henry de Bohun, said he would take Robert Bruce dead or alive. But when they got closer up, they found the Scots were in too great force, and De Bohun swung round to go back. As he did so King Robert rode out to stop him, and when De Bohun charged, turned his

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN BRUCE AND DE BOHUN.

light horse aside, and with his battle-axe smashed in the skull of the knight as he thundered past. The Scots followed up their King, and the English retired in confusion. About the same time a body of 300 horsemen appeared on the level below Randolph's position. When Randolph hurried his spearmen down the hill, they waited for them; but, though they surrounded the Scots, they could not break their ranks, and were at last scattered by a charge and driven off. So ended the first day's fighting.

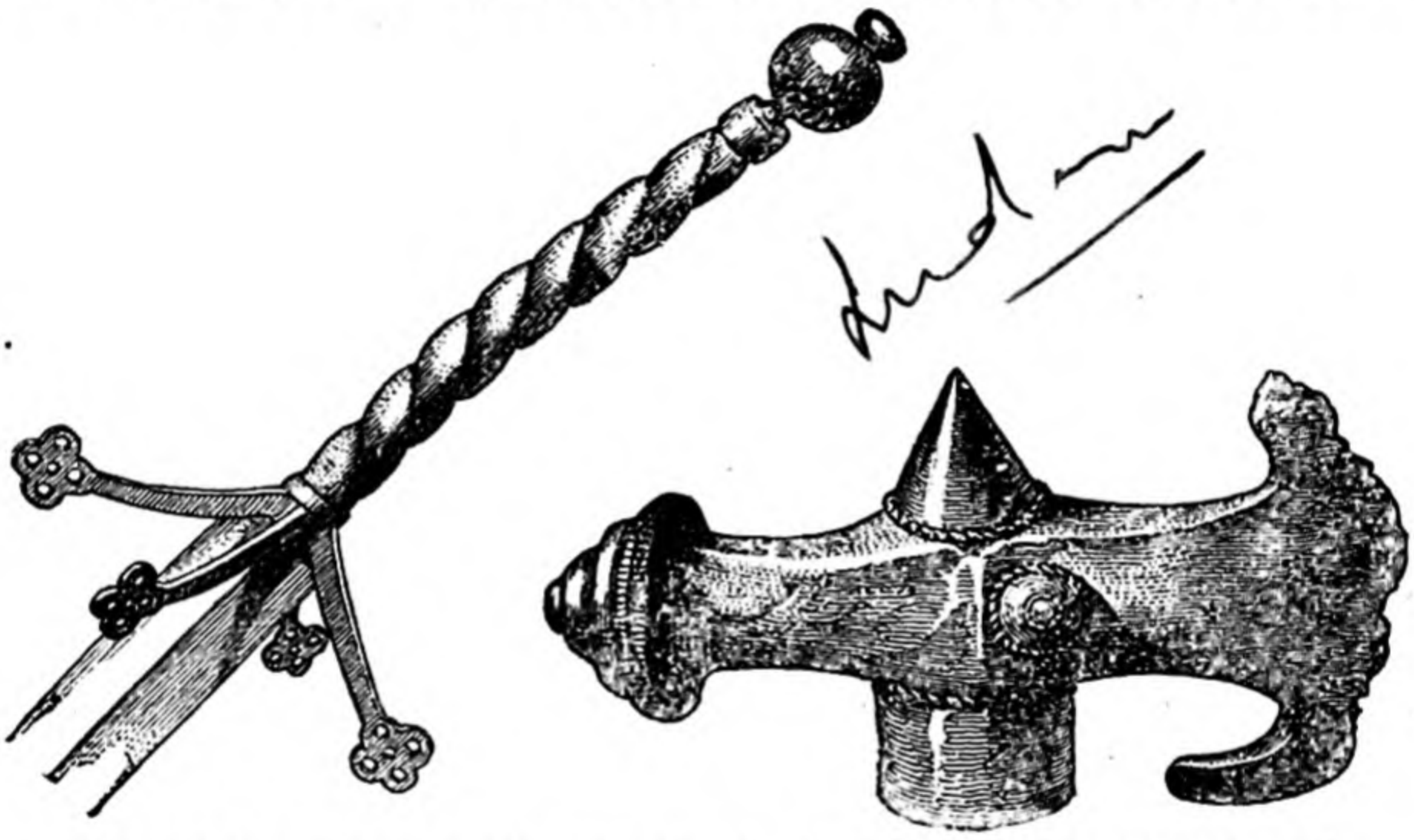
3. *The Battle of Bannockburn.*—This was not the sort of thing the English had looked forward to, and, much discouraged, they made their way over the Bannock Burn to the level land of the Carse, where they passed an uncomfortable night, crowded on the dry part between the Burn and the River Forth. Next morning the Scots were first on the



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, 1314.
The position of the armies extremely doubtful.

move, and in four great masses left the shelter of the wood to attack their more numerous enemy. But by doing so they forced the English to fight in a narrow space, where their great numbers were only a hindrance. Their horse hastily charged on the advancing Scots, but could not pierce their fence of shields and spears; while the Scots stabbed the

horses, and so brought down their heavy riders. Soon those in front could not free themselves from the crush; those behind could not get forward. Fallen men and horses lay in heaps along the edge of battle. For a time it looked as if the English archers would make great destruction among the close-packed Scots, but Bruce had arranged for this. His small body of mounted men, under the Marshal, Sir Robert Keith, attacked the archers in the flank;



BRUCE'S SWORD AND HEAD OF A BATTLE-AXE FOUND AT BANNOCKBURN.

these were unable to defend themselves, and were cut up and scattered. And now the English soldiers in the rear, finding any advance blocked and seeing their own men so hard pressed and in such difficulties, began to move away. When this was discovered, a shout rose from the Scottish lines: 'On them! on them! They fail!' Then from the wood behind the Scots a body of men was seen to advance, shouting and waving weapons and flags. These were the camp-followers, whom Bruce had placed in a valley of the Park, and who now came

forward to see the fight and help their masters. The disheartened English took them for a fresh troop of reserves. They wavered, gave way, and broke in flight. The Scots followed fiercely. Many English were drowned in the Forth. The steep banks of the Bannock became a trap, and were bridged over with tumbled horses and riders. The fugitives spread over the country-side, and the peasantry slew them at their will. Edward and a small body of horsemen fled, first to the castle, but were advised to make their way round the other side of the Park, and so rode off to Dunbar, with Douglas and a few others hard at their heels. However, they reached Dunbar in safety, and so made their way home. Never was a battle so disastrous to the English. Many thousands of them perished. Their camp, with its gorgeous equipment, its furniture, dress, weapons, and articles of value, was a national enrichment. Two centuries and a half later we read of stuff 'from the fight at Bannockburn.' Many noble knights were captured, and their ransoms long poured in to fill the empty purses of the Scots. It was now their turn to sing of victory:

'Maidens of England, sore may ye mourn,
For that ye have lost your lovers at Bannockburn.
With heave-alow,
What thought the King of England
To have gotten Scotland?
With rombylow.'

4. *Edward Tries to Isolate Scotland.*—For fourteen years more the war dragged on in raids and sieges. Edward II, beaten in the field, tried other methods of injuring the Scots. He wrote to the Count of Flanders and to some of the great towns of the Continent asking them to give up their commerce

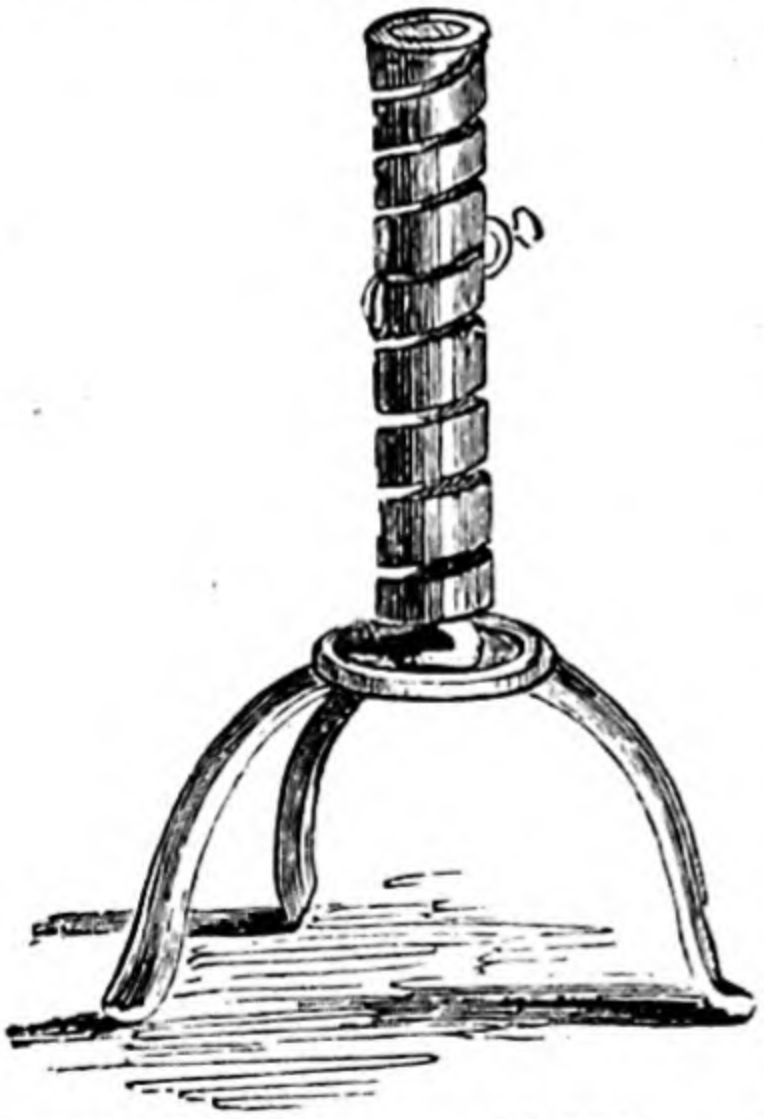
with the Scots. This the Count and some of the cities flatly refused to do. In return, a Scottish Parliament forbade all trade with England on pain of death. Edward also enlisted the aid of the Pope, who sent letters to Bruce ordering him to make peace with Edward, in order that a new crusade might be undertaken. As the letters were not addressed to him as 'King,' Bruce pleasantly said they must be for somebody else of the same name, and refused to receive them. Moreover, a protest was sent to the 'Holy Father' on behalf of the whole 'community' of Scotland, in which it was declared: '*While there exist a hundred of us, we will never submit to England.*' Before long, however, the Pope and the excommunicated King and people were reconciled.

5. *Attacks on England.*—England had now to stand on the defensive. Edward Bruce crossed over to Ireland to attack the English garrison there, in which he was for a time helped by his royal brother. He was crowned King of Ireland, but fell in battle, after inflicting much loss on the English. The Scots crossed the English border again and again, in summer and in winter, plundering the country, and burning the towns which would not buy them off. In this way they made up for the heavy losses they had suffered. The town of Berwick was betrayed to them; the castle was starved into surrender. On the other hand, when Edward led a force into Scotland he found his path a desert; neither man nor beast was to be seen. He made a stubborn attempt to recapture Berwick. The walls were low, and a tower of wood filled with men,

called a 'sow,' was dragged on wheels close up to them ; but a Flemish engineer had made an engine, which threw a great stone upon the tower and smashed it. While Edward was thus occupied, Randolph and Douglas made a dash into England as far as Yorkshire. The Archbishop hastily gathered what men he could, but in the *White Battle* his little force was scattered. So many churchmen were slain that the Scots called it the 'Chapter of Mytton' (1319) : a chapter being a meeting of clergy. Bruce himself fought his last battle in England, when, at *Byland Abbey*, in Yorkshire, the English ran from him as the hare before the hounds (1322). A truce was now agreed to ; but when the incapable Edward II was deposed and murdered, fighting began again. The Scots 'burned the dales of Tyne.' As they were all horsed, the English could not overtake them. From strong positions they defied their pursuers, and then slipped away in the night, driving before them great herds of cattle. But England, too, was now exhausted. There was no money to pay its soldiers. The barons were quarrelling. The King was young, and anxious, besides, to make good his claim on the vacant throne of France. Accordingly, with the *Treaty of Northampton*, the long struggle came, in 1328, to an end. The independence of Scotland was clearly and fully admitted. King Robert's son David was to marry Joanna, Edward III's sister—'Jane Make-Peace' the Scots afterwards called her. The Coronation Stone was to be returned to Scotland ; but this was never done. Certain lords holding lands in Scotland, who had fought for the English, were

to have their estates restored. This, too, was not done. Bruce, indeed, had already divided the forfeited estates among his own supporters. It was the only way in which he could reward them, and these 'disinherited lords' suffered with the rest. But Neil Campbell, who married Mary Bruce; Douglas; the Steward; Randolph, Earl of Moray; Angus Macdonald; Sir Andrew Moray, son of Wallace's friend; and many more, received the wide possessions of the Balliols, the Comyns, and others untrue to their country. A new race of Scottish nobles grew up, many of whom were in time to turn out no more faithful than those whose places they had taken.

6. *Bruce's Parliaments.*—During these last years the King had not been unmindful of the need of reorganizing his unsettled kingdom. The most necessary thing was to fit it for war. All lands were to be held for military service. Parliament decreed that every landowner should provide himself with suitable armour. Every man possessing a cow or its value was required to have a spear or a bow and arrows. The ambition of the English Kings had turned Scotland into a nation in arms. War became the occupation of its nobles. Over the border was an enemy with whom no lasting friendship was possible. King Robert took an



CANDLESTICK FROM A DUMFRIESSHIRE COTTAGE VISITED BY ROBERT BRUCE.

important step in summoning to his Parliament representatives of the royal burghs. He was in need of money, as the estates of the Crown had been so much impoverished by the war. Thus the royal tenants, among whom were the burghs, voted to him an income for life made up of the tenth penny of all rents. The Parliament now included the 'three estates'—lords, clergy, and commons, who held their property directly from the King.

7. *Death of Bruce.*—Bruce did not long survive the completion of his work. His last days were spent at Cardross, near Dumbarton, where he was busy with schemes for raising a royal navy. Pirates infested the Scottish coasts and much hampered the reviving trade. Ships would also be necessary to keep the Isles in order. But 'the great sickness,' probably leprosy, the scourge of the Middle Ages, had laid its hand on the King, and on June 7, 1329, he died. He had made Douglas promise that after death he should have his heart removed from his body, and should carry it into battle against 'God's foes'—the Mohammedans.* It weighed on his mind that he had not gone on a Crusade, as he had vowed to do if successful. After the royal burial in Dunfermline Abbey, Douglas, with a small company, set out. Landing in Spain, he joined a King of that country in his war against the Moors, bore the heart of Bruce into battle, and himself fell in carrying out his commission. The heart was brought back to Scotland and buried in Melrose Abbey.

* Edward I. had made a similar request to his son before setting out on his last campaign.

CHAPTER XII

DAVID II (1329-1371)

1. *The Disinherited Barons and the Battle of Dupplin Moor.*—Unhappily for Scotland, the successor of Bruce was his son David, only eight years old. He was the first King of Scotland to be anointed at his coronation, a privilege specially granted by the Pope. Anointing was the sign of an independent kingdom. But over the Border covetous eyes were again turned on Scotland. The barons whose estates had not been restored to them, as the Treaty of Northampton had provided, and others who, by taking the side of England, had lost their Scottish rights, made a sudden descent upon the country. The King of England gave them a leader in Edward Balliol, son of King John. The Scottish Regent, Randolph, Earl of Moray, died on the eve of invasion. At *Dupplin Moor* (1332), near Perth, the 'disinherited barons' fell in with the Scottish army. They fought on foot with their archers spread out on the wings. The Scots, having greater numbers, charged in a dense mass. Under the deadly volleys of the archers they shrank inwards upon each other and were crowded together in confusion. 'More fell by suffocation than by the sword.' More still fell before the clothyard shafts, 'so that the dead stood as high from the ground as the full length of a spear.' The Scots were almost entirely destroyed. Thus the English learned how to deal with a Scottish army foolish enough to neglect the wise advice of Bruce, which was to act always on the defensive,

to choose strong natural positions, and to attack only at night or by ambush.

GREAT SEAL OF DAVID II—OBVERSE.

2. *Edward Balliol, King of Scotland.* — The war thus begun went on for the next ten years. On a smaller scale it was the War of Independence over again. Edward Balliol was crowned at Scone, and acknowledged Edward III of England as his superior. A few months later he was surprised by a body of Scots at Annan, and while his following was cut to pieces, he just managed to escape, half naked, across the Border. Edward III himself now took the field and besieged Berwick. To relieve the town, the Scots fought another disastrous battle at *Halidon Hill* (1333).

GREAT SEAL OF DAVID II—REVERSE.

They attacked through a marsh and up a hill under the fire of the English bowmen. They never reached the English lines, and, when thoroughly broken, Edward scattered them with his horsemen. This battle the English regarded as a full vengeance for Bannockburn. Edward Balliol returned, and in his gratitude, with the consent of his Parliament, gave up to his superior the whole of the eastern half of the Lowlands. But the Scots of the national party still held out. The open country was theirs, while the party of Balliol was confined to the castles and other strong places, their head-quarters being Perth. The leaders on the national side were Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who was made Regent ; Sir Alexander Ramsay ; and Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale. Presently the disinherited barons quarrelled among themselves. Edward III soon became embroiled in a war with France, to which country David and his Queen Joanna had been sent after Halidon Hill. Edward, without just right, claimed the crown of France, and Scotland was neglected for a fairer prize. On the death of Moray, Robert the Steward, afterwards King, became Regent. One by one the Scottish castles were recovered, with assistance from France. Edward Balliol left Scotland for the last time, and David returned from exile to find a realm 'sore destroyed' (1341).

3. *The Age of Chivalry*.—David's French training had taught him little that could help him in dealing with the difficult position of his country. He had learned to love ease and luxury such as a country made poor by constant fighting could not afford him.

Handsome and brave he was, but he lacked firmness of character and ability to rule. Yet these were the very things of which the King of Scotland had special need. The great nobles had become petty Kings, each a law unto himself. Government had become weakened by being passed from hand to hand for so many years. David was more concerned about practising the usages of chivalry than building up his kingdom and strengthening it against the enemy. Fighting had become with him, as with the knights of the time, a pastime to be followed for its own sake. When there was no serious fighting on hand the nobles held 'jousts' or tournaments. Barricades were erected, and knights strove in feats of arms. They tried to unhorse each other with blunted lances, or strike on some vital part. Such combats sometimes ended in a serious accident. David himself took part in them, and the Scottish knights were not inferior to their fellows elsewhere. Battles became no longer events upon which the freedom of their country might depend, but opportunities for single combat and feats of skill and bravery. But careful observance of the rules of honour and courtesy in battle or the tournament did not prevent treachery and ferocity at other times. The Knight of Liddesdale was called the 'Flower of Chivalry.' But when David foolishly made Sir Alexander Ramsay Sheriff of Liddesdale in place of the knight, the latter seized Ramsay in Court, carried him off to his castle of Hermitage, shut him up in a dungeon, and left him to starve to death. Yet they had been comrades in resisting Balliol and England. The 'Flower,' too, was in-

triguing with Edward III against his own country. David made no attempt to punish him, and his end was to be assassinated by his own godson, Sir William Douglas, nephew of the good Lord James. Such outrages became common. The Scottish nobility were quite beyond control. Feuds between rival houses broke out on all sides, and continued for generations.

4. *Battle of Neville's Cross—David a Prisoner* (1346).—To aid France in her difficulties with England, David invaded that country. The northern counties were pillaged. Near Durham he met an English army. The English were on the hill, and on foot, with archers on the wings. In spite of all they had suffered in this way the Scots attacked. The archers closed in upon them, and shot them down, David himself being wounded with two arrows. His army was scattered, and the King as well as four Earls and the Bishop of St. Andrews were captured. This Battle of Durham, or *Neville's Cross*, was a national disaster, and events in Scotland were for long dated from it.

5. *David's Ransom.*—David remained a prisoner for eleven years, during which Robert the Steward acted as Regent. At last he was released on promising to pay a ransom of 100,000 marks, or about £90,000. This was a heavy burden for a country like Scotland. In addition to its other misfortunes it had been visited in 1350 by the pestilence, or plague, which the Scots called 'the foul death of the English.' Now it had to find during the next ten years sufficient money to pay for its King. Great efforts were made to clear off the debt. The Customs on exported

goods were increased to three times their previous amount. All Crown property which had been given away was taken back. The coinage was debased—that is, by adding base metal, the pound of silver was coined into more than twenty pennies. Each penny was therefore really worth less, though passing under the old name. But the debt dragged on: David died before it was settled, and the balance was never paid.

6. *Edward Tries to Conciliate the Scots.*—The King of England, still anxious to secure the northern kingdom, now tried new measures to that end. Edward Balliol had transferred to him his claim on the throne. The ignoble David had secretly declared himself willing to accept his overlordship. David felt himself more at home in richer England than in his own poor land. After his release he made frequent journeys south, and that, of course, meant the spending of more money. Meantime Edward did all he could to induce the Scottish nobles to visit his Court. He gave special privileges to the Scottish merchants. The young men of the upper classes were encouraged to attend the English Universities. With some of these went John Barbour, who, in his poem *The Bruce*, wrote the epic of the War of Independence. He let the Scots understand that if they parted with their independence he would not insist on the payment of the rest of David's ransom. At last David, seeing he had no children, proposed to the Estates that his successor should be a son of Edward. The heir to the throne was Robert the Steward, son of Marjory Bruce, but the King and he had never been on good terms,

and David, indeed, detested him. But the Estates were firm in rejecting such a proposal; 'they would never,' they said, 'have an Englishman to rule over them.' And the Scottish Parliament was now in a very strong position. David's weakness, his frequent absences, his extravagance, the need to get money to pay his ransom—all threw much power into the hands of the Estates. They controlled the King, and insisted that his commands should be within 'the common law' of the country. David died in February, 1371. Chivalrous and thoughtless to the last, he had purposed going on a Crusade!

CHAPTER XIII

THE STEWART KINGS: ROBERT II (1371); ROBERT III (1390)

1. *Robert II.*—David Bruce left no children. His successor, therefore, according to an Act of Parliament, was his cousin Robert the Steward, who had already acted as Regent during David's captivity in England. He was now a man well on in years, and anxious for peace. But the Scottish barons were not of a peaceful disposition. They had been brought up in war. The English, too, still held large portions of southern Scotland with the castles, being the districts surrendered by Edward Balliol. Another De Bohun lorded it over Annandale of the Bruces. Thus, in spite of a truce for fourteen years carried over from the previous reign, fighting went on continually along the Border. The King

could not stop it. The barons made war on their own account without considering his wishes. The King, indeed, they looked upon as simply one of themselves, who by a lucky chance had come to the throne. The Stewarts were not yet a royal race. And Robert, while he reigned, could not govern

GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT II—OBVERSE.

or hold in the Scottish lords. Bit by bit lands were recovered from the English. The Earl of Douglas took a leading part in these proceedings. He was Warden of the East March, and his chief opponent was the English Warden, Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The Border was divided into three parts or 'marches' on both sides, each with its

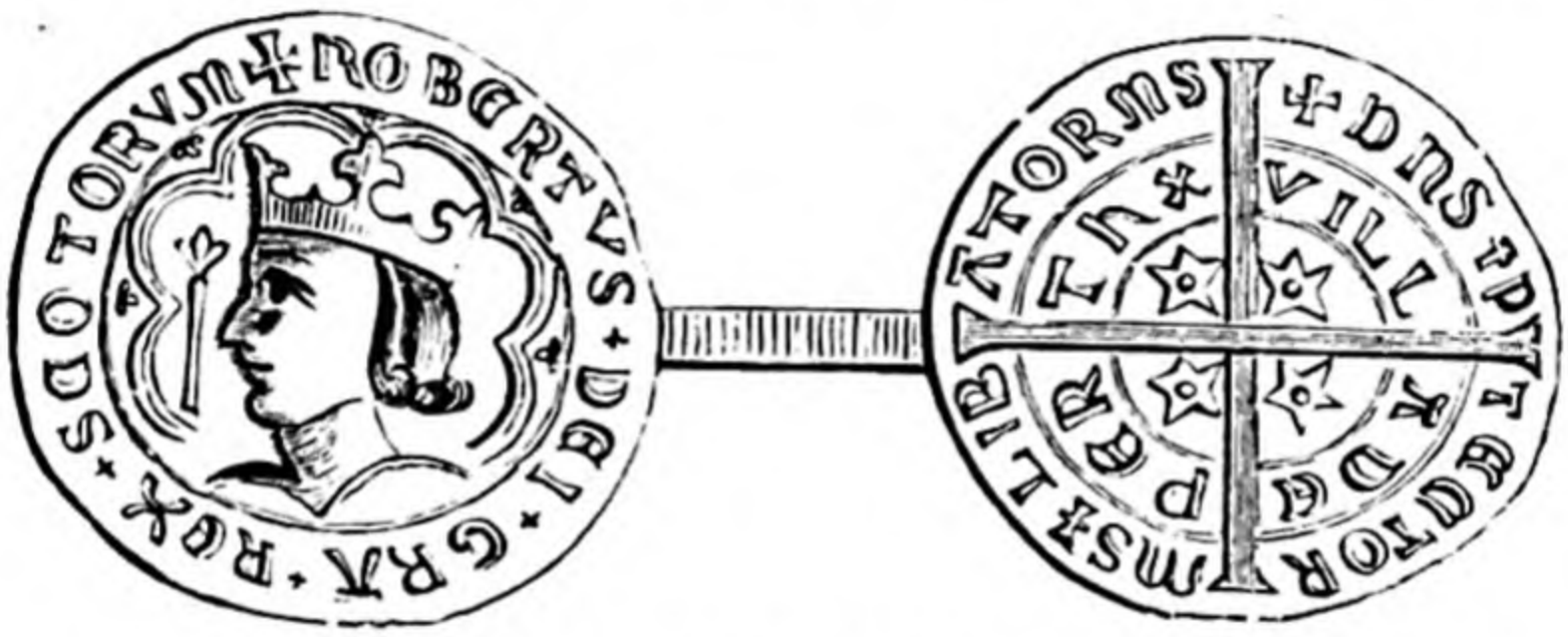
GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT II—REVERSE.

Guardian, or Warden.* The Wardens were supposed to keep the peace, and judge in all disputes. At present, however, they simply raided each other's lands. The war went on even at sea. A Berwick merchant with a large fleet plundered Scarborough. He was defeated and captured by a merchant of London. Scottish ships were fitted out and dispatched against 'the pirates and thieves of England,' who in turn took similar measures against the Scots.

2. *The French in Scotland.*—The expiry of the truce was the signal for a united effort against the English in Scotland. Annandale and Teviotdale were cleared of their presence. Help was asked from France, and the French Admiral came over with men, money, and suits of armour. They joined a Scottish army under Douglas, which raided England as far as Newcastle. When Richard II approached with a strong force, the Scots retired, much to the disgust of the French, who had come over for fighting. Richard crossed into Scotland, and burned Melrose Abbey and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee. But he found the plain land laid waste, and was forced to retreat from lack of food. Meantime the Scots and French had burst into England on the west side. 'The French said among themselves they had burned in the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland.'

* In Scotland the *East March* was Berwickshire; the *Middle March* Selkirk, Peebles, Roxburgh, and Lauderdale; the *West March* the dales of Esk, Ewes, Wauchope, Annan, and Nith, with Galloway.

3. *Departure of the French.*—But the French were not liked in Scotland, nor did they themselves care for living in such a country. Their lodging was poor. They had to feed on simple fare. They could not, as in their own country, take from the peasants what they wished, by force. The Scots beat their servants if they tried to do so, and even slew them. If in their marches they destroyed the crops, they were forced to make good the damage. They had to pay heavily for horses, and then could not get harness. The Scots had to procure such things as horse-shoes and leather from Flanders;



SILVER GROAT: ROBERT II.

and in their English raids they carried off iron when they could. The French, indeed, were regarded as a burden on the country. The Scots said that if the English came and burned their houses they could easily build them again with some beams and branches. But to support such a crowd of men-at-arms and servants was worse than an English invasion. Nor were the French allowed to return until they had arranged for the payment of all debts.

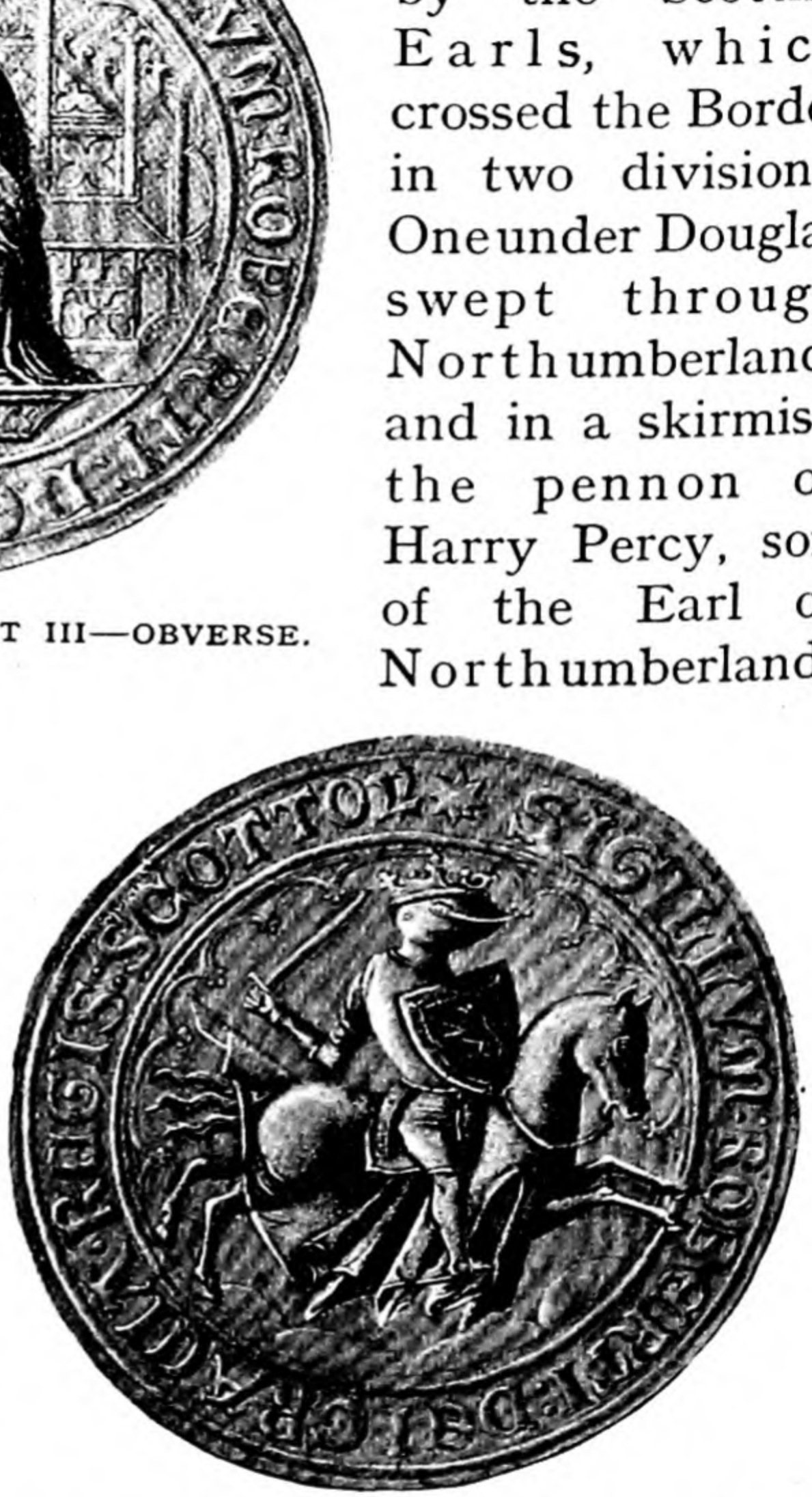
4. *The Fight at Otterburn* (1388).—The Scots continued the war. England was distracted by trouble

between King Richard and his lords. Unknown to

GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT III—OBVERSE.

known to the Scots as 'Hotspur,' was captured. To recover it Hotspur attacked the Scots by night at *Otterburn*. In the clear light of an August moon the armies fought the whole night through, on foot and hand to hand. Earl Douglas fell, but the dead man won the fight, and Harry Percy was captured. This raid was followed by a truce. Thereupon Scottish

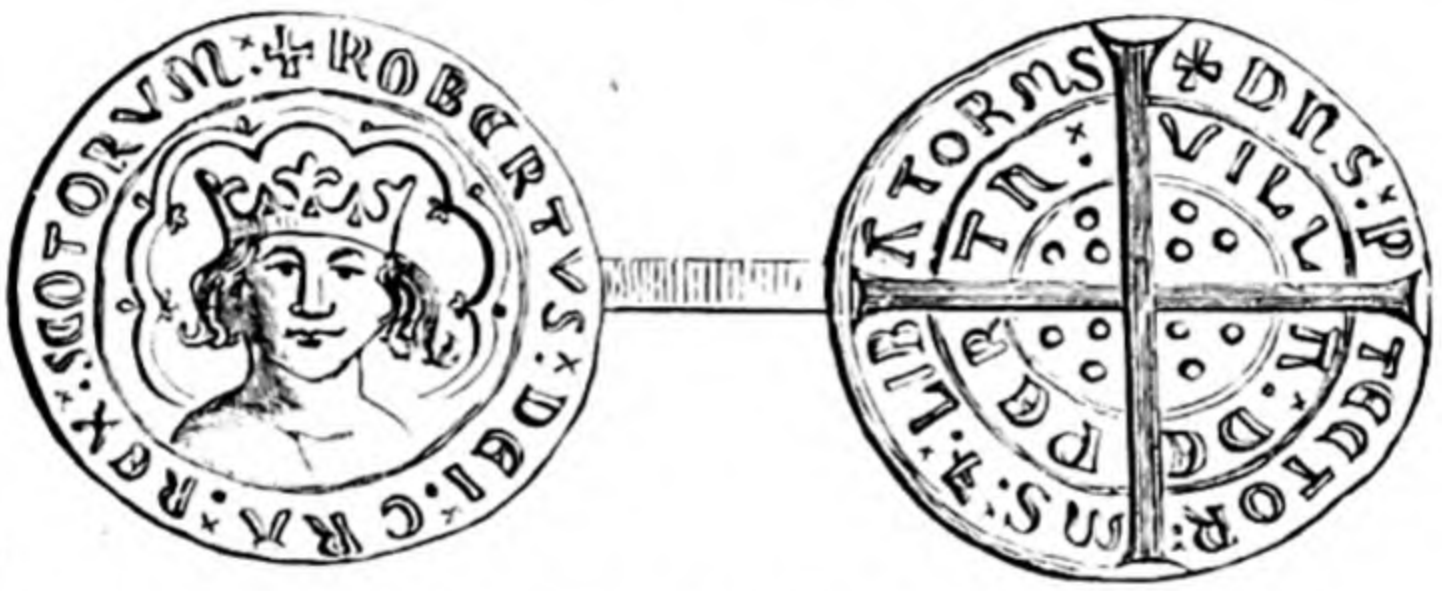
King Robert an unusually large army was collected by the Scottish Earls, which crossed the Border in two divisions. Oneunder Douglas swept through Northumberland, and in a skirmish the pennon of Harry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland,



GREAT SEAL OF ROBERT III—REVERSE.

knights flocked into England to carry on the rivalry in 'gentle and joyous' feats of arms. Of these champions the most famous was Sir David Lindsay. For his success in the jousts he won prizes of a silver cup, a gilt ewer, and £100 in money. He then went off on the same sporting errand to France. The aged and tender-hearted Robert died, at least, in an hour of peace (1390).

5. *Robert III.*—Robert II had been twice married, and his eldest son by the first marriage was John, Earl of Carrick. But it may be doubted whether this marriage was really legal. This doubt pre-



SILVER PENNY: ROBERT III.

served a lingering claim to the throne on the part of the second family, which was before long to cause mischief. The Scottish Parliament had settled the matter by selecting John. As this name, however, was an unlucky one in the royal annals of both England and Scotland,* the new King adopted that of Robert. He was a man of tall, kingly appearance, with a long white beard, but sickly and a cripple. He proved a weaker monarch even than his father. To strengthen his position he made bands with the leading nobles, bribing them with

* As John 'Lackland' and John Balliol.

pensions from the royal revenues. A proof of his incapacity is that his younger brother, the Earl of Fife, was actually appointed Guardian of the Realm to carry on the business of Government. Fortunately there was peace with England. The chief troubles in the early part of the reign came from the Highlands, where the King's brother, Alexander Stewart, was the offender. He had a feud with the Bishop of Moray, and—

> 'Burnt the kirk was of Elgin
> By wild, wicked Hieland-men.'

For deeds of this sort he received the name of the 'Wolf of Badenoch.' His sons, too, raided the low country to the east with bands of Highland 'caterans.' One of them married by force the Countess of Mar, and so became Earl. The most remarkable outcome of these Highland disturbances was a combat on the North Inch of Perth, a flat meadow beside the River Tay. Two clans who were at feud sent each thirty* men, who fought out the quarrel in the presence of the Court and a crowd of spectators. One, called the Clan Kay, was probably Mackintoshes, while the other was the Clan Quhele. This was a 'judicial combat' on a big scale, and the North Inch was a favourite spot for such. Eleven wounded men of the former clan survived to one of their opponents. The dispute, whatever it may have been, seems thus to have been settled. But disorder was not confined to the

* In a famous fight of the sort forty years before, in France, between picked English and French knights there was the same number on each side.

Highlands. We hear of 'horrible destructions, burnings, and slaughters commonly done through all the kingdom.' Thus the Estates were driven to complain to the King of 'the misgovernment of the realm, and defect of keeping of the common law.' A new arrangement was made. David, the King's son, became Guardian. He was one of the two first Scottish Dukes, with the title of Duke of Rothesay from the family possessions: his uncle was the other, taking his title from the ancient district of Alban as Duke of Albany.

6. *Rothesay's Government and Death.*—The Duke of Rothesay was an able and high-spirited young man, but reckless and of a bad character. He involved the country in war with England. There a revolution had occurred, and Henry IV had supplanted Richard II on the throne. He marched north with an army, and summoned the King and nobles of Scotland to assemble and do him homage. Such a claim was no longer taken seriously. Henry marched as far as Edinburgh, but had to retire on news of a rising in Wales. Unlike his predecessors, he had done little mischief, and he was the last King of England to invade Scotland in person. Rothesay's conduct, however, became unbearable. His leading supporters were dead. The King was persuaded to allow him to be confined by Albany in the Palace at Falkland. There he soon died, and in a violent age the rumour spread that he had been done to death by his jealous uncle.

7. *Battle of Homildon Hill* (1402)—*Capture of Prince James* (1406).—Albany was now Governor again. To retaliate on English raids on the Border

a Scottish army entered Northumberland. It was led by Albany's son Murdoch and Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. On their return they were overtaken by the Percies at *Homildon Hill*. Hotspur, of course, was eager to charge, but he was restrained while the English archers rained their arrows from a safe distance on the Scottish masses. The Scots in desperation broke their ranks and swept down the hill, only to be dispersed and pursued by the English horse. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and Murdoch Stewart, with three other Earls, were among the prisoners. But a still more valuable prize was soon to come the way of England. King Robert, perhaps fearing the power and ambition of Albany, determined to send his son and heir James to France. The Prince was eleven years old, and in France he would be educated and grow up in safety. But off Flamborough Head the ship in which he sailed was seized by an English vessel, and the young Prince carried off to London. This was in the spring of 1406. The feeble and ailing King survived the blow but a few weeks, leaving a distracted kingdom in the hands of his masterful brother.

CHAPTER XIV

THE POET-KING: JAMES I (1406-1437)

1. *Albany Regent.*—Once more a King of Scotland lay in an English prison. The office of Regent naturally fell to the Duke of Albany. He was now an old man, and under his easy rule nothing was

done to check the lawlessness that filled the country. The great nobles did pretty much as they pleased, for Albany would not venture to quarrel with them. They refused to pay the Custom duties on goods which they exported, and even robbed the collectors. In these doings the Earl of Douglas, after his release, was the chief offender. Albany was very wealthy, and the needy Scots lords were always ready to enrich themselves by any means open to them. To some were given portions of the lands belonging to the Crown. Albany, indeed, had been the actual ruler of the country so long that he acted as a King rather than a Regent. He styled himself Governor 'by the grace of God,' issued charters under his own name and seal, and referred to the Scots as his 'subjects.' Between him and the throne was only the boy James, and him the English obstinately refused to give up. The King, however, seems to have thought that his uncle did not do all he might have done for his release. Albany's own son Murdoch was exchanged for young Percy.

2. *Heresy and the First Scottish University.*—There were other causes of unrest in the country besides the oppression and greed of the nobles. Many of the followers of the English reformer Wycliffe had, on his death, fled to Scotland. They were known as Lollards. The churchmen were much disturbed by the presence and teaching of these 'cursit men, heretikis.' Albany himself was a 'constant Catholic' who hated Lollards. One of these, an English priest, James Resby by name, was now arrested, tried, and with his writings burned at Perth. His worst offence was that he

taught that the Pope was not the Vicar of Christ. To help in combating such opinions a University was founded at St. Andrews in 1414, and the students had to take an oath 'that they would resist all adherents of the sect of Lollards.' Scottish scholars had hitherto been in the habit of attending the English Universities, or, to a greater extent, that of Paris, where a 'Scots College' had long been in existence. And that the Scottish Universities differ so much from those of England is due to the fact that they followed the French model.

3. *The Red Harlaw* (1411).—The most stirring event of the Regency was the rising of Donald, Lord of the Isles. Donald's mother was a royal Stewart, a daughter of Robert II. He had been in England, and was on very friendly terms with the English King. His position in the Hebrides was that of an independent Prince. He now claimed, through his wife, the vacant Earldom of Ross, which Albany had, however, secured for his own son. Donald therefore occupied Ross with a large army, defeated the Mackays from the North at Dingwall, and burned Inverness. Thence he marched into Aberdeenshire to seize lands there which went with the earldom. His followers were to be rewarded with the plunder of Aberdeen. But the gentry of the county—Forbeses, Keiths, Leslies, and the burgesses of the city—went 'out against the caterans.' They were led by the Earl of Mar, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, who had proved himself an able soldier in the Low Countries, and was the most powerful nobleman in the North. The armies met at Harlaw, eighteen miles out of

Aberdeen, where a fierce and stubborn struggle went on till nightfall. There had been heavy losses on both sides.

'Hieland and Lawland may mournful be
For the sair field of Harlaw.'

The disheartened Donald retreated, with Albany in pursuit. In the following summer he submitted. Certain 'captains' or chiefs of Ross helped the Governor in restoring and preserving peace.

4. *The Scots in France.*—With England it was a time of short wars and shorter truces. Peace there could not be so long as some of the strongest Border fortresses were in English hands—a legacy from the time of Edward Balliol. Jedburgh Castle was recovered by the men of Teviotdale and destroyed. But in the 'Fool Raid' Albany failed before Roxburgh Castle, and Douglas at Berwick. These strongholds were the bulwarks of the Border. An English fleet captured many Scottish trading vessels in the Firth of Forth, and the western counties were raided on both sides. But the Scots found a way of striking a blow at the common enemy by sending help to France when almost prostrate at the feet of Henry V. 'A cursed people, the Scots,' said the English King; 'wherever I go, I find them in my beard.' But in France they were not popular. They were nicknamed 'tugmuttons' and 'winesacks.' They were noted for their excessive pride and their bitter hatred of the English. 'Proud as a Scot' became a French proverb. But they turned the tide of French defeat in the brilliant victory of *Beaugé* (1420). In a later battle the Scots companies

were almost annihilated. Among the slain were the Earl of Buchan, who had been made Constable of France, and the Earl of Douglas, created Duke of Touraine. Scotsmen, however, followed the white banner of 'the Maid,' Jeanne D'Arc, who gave new life to the French resistance, and out of the survivors was formed the famous 'Scots Guard' of the French Kings.

5. *Return of James.*—Albany on his death was simply succeeded by his eldest son Murdoch, who acted as Regent for four years. He was a slack and feeble ruler. The English, however, tired of the profitless business of keeping James, now consented to his release. In 1424 James returned to his own country, having bound himself to pay what was for Scotland the very large sum of £40,000 English money as the 'costage' of his education. He was now thirty years of age, of middle stature, and inclined to be stout. He had seen military service on the English side in France, and was well skilled in the use of arms. He was fond of music and devoted to literature, being himself the author of a remarkable and beautiful poem called *The King's Quair* (*i.e.*, book). In it he describes and reflects on his own career, and tells how he first saw his wife from his prison window as she walked in the garden below.

> 'The fairest and the freshest youngé flower
> That e'er I saw, methought, before that hour.'

The lady was Jane Beaufort, a great-grand-daughter of Edward III. In consideration of this marriage the ransom money was reduced by £10,000 as

JAMES I.

From Pinkerton's Iconographies.

Lady Jane's dowry. To pay the rest there was raised a 'general yield' of twelve pennies in the pound on the lands and rents of lords and goods and rents of burgesses, with varying amounts on corn and cattle. This was a very unpopular step. Such taxes were always unwelcome to the Scots. It was not long continued, and the ransom was never fully paid. Many of the hostages, members of noble families, who were sent to England as pledges for its payment, died there in ward.

6. *James and the Nobles.*—Fortunately for the country James, unlike the earlier Stewarts, proved to be an active and resolute King. His first task was to put down disorder, violence, and open robbery. 'If God gives me but a dog's life,' he said, 'I will make the key keep the castle and the bracken bush the cow.' He selected for his Council some of the lesser gentry, and to members of the same class he gave high offices of State. Such officials would be more faithful and more easily dealt with than the masterful great lords. These it was needful to humble. Douglas was imprisoned for a short period. The Albanys were rooted out. Duke Murdoch, his two sons, and his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were put on trial, and executed on the Heading Hill of Stirling. James next passed to Inverness, and summoned a meeting of the Highland chiefs (1427). Of these the most lawless were at once arrested and executed, and many others thrown into prison. Among the latter was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, now recognized as Earl of Ross. On his release Alexander, furious at the King's treachery, rose in arms and burned Inverness.

James pursued him into Lochaber, where the Camerons and Clan Chattan deserted the island lord, and he was defeated. He appeared before the Court in the Church of Holyrood to make his submission. Stripped to his shirt, he surrendered his sword to the King, thus declaring in feudal form that life and lands were in the royal power. He was pardoned, but with the punishment of a short imprisonment in Tantallon Castle.

7. *James's Laws.*—James did not stop at measures of repression. During his reign of thirteen years he held as many Parliaments, almost all at Perth. Fresh laws were made on all sorts of subjects—to check rebellion, to put a stop to begging by men able to work, and to encourage trade. Private wars were ordered to cease, with all leagues or 'bands' such as the nobles were in the habit of making among themselves. Great men were also forbidden to ride about the country or appear at courts of law with bodies of armed followers. 'Bands,' however, became one of the chief features of Scottish history. Justice long continued to be overruled by violence. Meantime persons were appointed to examine the older books of laws, and 'mend the laws that need mendment' or alteration. A new court, known as the *Session*, was set up, and the laws ordered to be made known in every district, so that none might be ignorant of them. Moreover, as the smaller barons or freeholders found it expensive and troublesome to attend the meetings of Estates, and had given up doing so, it was arranged that they should send representatives, two for each sheriffdom. James was anxious to

have their support against the greater lords. But it was long ere this arrangement was really put in force. A favourite project of the King was to have Scottish archers as good as those of England. The power of the long-bow was written red in the history of both Scotland and France. 'All men,' it was proclaimed, were to 'busk them to be archers from they be twelve years of age.' But the Scots never took to the long-bow. As gunpowder was coming into use, James had 'bombards,' or long heavy guns, constructed. He was also anxious for a navy, and had, of course, ships of his own with which he traded.

8. *James and the Church.*—Like other Scottish Kings, James had his difficulties with the Pope. He was determined to be master within his own kingdom, even over the Church. He also issued a severe reproof to the members of great religious houses, declaring that they had 'abandoned religious conduct.' At the same time, as a good Churchman, he would not suffer heretical teaching. Another burning took place—this time of Paul Crawar, a foreigner—and the bishops were ordered to hunt out all heretics.

9. *Assassination of the King.*—But it was never easy for a King of Scots to carry out his good intentions. The Crown was usually too weak to govern the country against the will of the great barons. The royal power, too, had been much lessened by the gifting away of Crown property. James therefore ordered an inquiry into the history of the royal estates since the death of Robert Bruce. Landholders were warned that they might be called upon

to show their charters to the lands they occupied. The wide estates of the Albanys and the Earl of Lennox had, of course, fallen to the Crown. Further to increase his wealth and power, James now, with very slight excuses, seized the lands of the Earldoms of Strathearn, March, and Mar. Such high-handed dealing, of course, raised strong feeling against him. He had already made an enemy of Sir Robert Graham, uncle of the young Earl of Strathearn, by imprisoning and banishing him because of his violent opposition to the royal reforms. The fiery Graham became the moving spirit of a conspiracy against the King's life. There was some idea of putting forward the Earl of Atholl as the rightful King. The Earl was the grandson of Robert II by his second wife, and some would hold that Robert's first marriage was not legal (see Chapter XIII, § 5). James was a descendant of this first marriage. The conspirators found their opportunity during the King's visit to Perth in the opening months of 1437. The Court occupied the Blackfriars Monastery. Late on a February night Graham, with a band of Highlanders, entered the building. The King's private chamberlain, Sir Robert Stewart, was a grandson of Atholl, and played the traitor. He had planks laid across the moat and removed the bars of the locks. Warned by the tumult, James sought hiding in a closet, or in some sort of underground passage. Stewart, however, helped to his discovery, and he was mercilessly dirked to death. But nothing more was accomplished than the death of the King. Within a month the chief conspirators had been arrested by

the aid of some Highland chiefs. They were fiendishly tortured ere being put to death. Atholl stood his trial in a paper crown. He had taken no hand in the murder, but knew of the plot. His head, wearing a crown of iron, was stuck on a spear. Graham stubbornly declared that he had slain a tyrant, but the popular voice took shape in the words :

'Sir Robert Graham,
That slew our King,
God give him shame.'

10. *James and England.*—James's long residence in England did not make him any more friendly to that country. A truce of seven years might have been extended if James would have given up his league with France ; but this he refused to do. One of his daughters—herself a poetess and a friend of poets, as were also her two sisters—married the Dauphin of France, afterwards the famous Louis XI. In the last year of his reign James tried to recover Roxburgh Castle, but the siege was suddenly abandoned.

CHAPTER XV

JAMES II (1437-1460)

1. *Rule of Crichton and Livingstone.*—The scene of the King's murder being no safe place for his son, the Queen hurried with the young James to Edinburgh Castle. For the first time a coronation took place at Holyrood Abbey instead of Scone. The

King was only seven, but it was the Scottish usage to crown a new King immediately, however young. No gifts of Crown lands, it was enacted, were to be made during the minority without the consent of the Three Estates. The Earl of Douglas was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, but, though he drew his salary, took nothing to do with the business of his office. Thus the actual management of affairs became the object of a struggle between Sir William Crichton, Keeper of Edinburgh Castle and Master of the Royal Household, under whose protection was the King, and Sir Alexander Livingstone, Keeper of Stirling Castle. These were two of the lesser barons whom James I, according to his policy, had placed in important positions. At first Crichton was supreme till the Queen, with her son, took refuge with Livingstone. Then the two agreed to a division of power. Livingstone was to keep the King, while Crichton was to be Chancellor. The great houses took no part in these proceedings. They had what they desired in being free of royal control.

2. *The 'Black Dinner' of Earl Douglas* (1440).—The Lieutenant-Governor was now dead, but his son was not appointed to succeed him. Though only seventeen, the young Earl was the most powerful man in the kingdom. Having vast estates in the Lowlands, from the Solway to the Forth, he could assemble a following of many thousands of relatives and retainers. He was also Duke of Touraine, with a fair lordship in France. Keeping proudly apart, he took no share in public business. Feeling their position unsure in face of such a

magnate, Crichton and Livingstone determined to get rid of him. The Earl and his brother, with their adviser and friend, Sir Malcolm Fleming, were invited to meet the King in Edinburgh Castle. One day at dinner the unsuspecting guests were seized and put through some sort of trial on a charge of treason. The two Douglases were at once executed, as Fleming also was four days later. The earldom was allowed to pass to the uncle of the murdered youths, James the Gross. The lordship of Galloway, however, with some other property, went to their sister, thus known as 'the Fair Maid of Galloway.' Three years later Earl James died, and his son William, by marrying his cousin, reunited the family estates.

3. *Disorder in the Country.*—The new Earl was an active and ambitious man, like so many of his ancestors. Making friends with Livingstone, he secured the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and brought about the downfall of Crichton, who had been chiefly responsible for his cousin's death. The post of Chancellor was now filled by Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, an able and unselfish statesman. He at least thought first and always of what was best in the country's interests, and not of what might mean gain and advancement for himself. But for the time he was powerless as against Douglas. Between the contending parties the country sank into a state of anarchy. Crichton and Livingstone harried each other's lands. The Earl of Crawford fell on the estates of the Bishop, and was solemnly 'cursed' by him. A year later he was mortally wounded in

a skirmish. Other houses, too, were busy with their own rivalries and revenges. Laws against 'bands' and private wars went unheeded. Atholl Stewarts and Ruthvens did battle at Perth; Lindsays and Ogilvies fought round the monastery of Arbroath; Mackays and Murrays in the far North. In all this, of course, the weak and the poor were the chief sufferers. Influenced by Kennedy, James himself, at the age of nineteen, assumed the control of the kingdom. He married Mary, daughter of the French Duke of Guldres.

4. *James Slays the Earl of Douglas* (1452).—But the power of the King was almost overshadowed by that of Douglas. That house was now stronger and more splendid than ever. The Earl's two brothers also were Earls—of Moray and Ormond. When he went abroad, his train of attendants was like that of a royal personage. As hereditary Warden of the Marches, he was Lord of the Border, and the family was popular because of its successes over the English. Their latest exploit had been a severe trouncing to an English invading party at Gretna on the Sark. A struggle with such a subject might easily become a civil war, and it was hard to say who would win. James was thus driven to desperate measures. He struck first at the Livingstones. Their possessions were confiscated, and two of the sons executed. The old Sir Alexander was spared, and he took refuge with his son-in-law, the Lord of the Isles, whose power in the north rivalled that of Douglas in the south. Douglas now leagued himself with the Earl of Crawford. That 'Tiger Earl' 'held all Angus in his

band, and was richt inobedient to the King.' At this time, indeed, he was actually in rebellion. James tried to conciliate Douglas. He invited him to Stirling, and asked for his help against Crawford. Douglas refused to forsake his ally. As they talked the matter over alone after supper, and James saw that the Earl was not to be moved, he suddenly drew his dagger and stabbed his guest in the throat. Thus a second Douglas fell a victim to the royal hospitality.

5. *The Douglases Destroyed.*—James had now brought matters to a head. The new Earl, the murdered man's brother, defied the King, and sacked and burned Stirling. James in turn wasted Ettrick Forest, a Douglas district. Then came a short reconciliation; each dreading the power of the other. But Douglas began to plot with England. Acting on his behalf, too, Donald Balloch of Islay, uncle of John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, descended on the islands in the Firth of Clyde, and carried off much booty. James seized some of Douglas's castles near the Forth. Lord Hamilton came over to the royal side, and the Earl fled to England. Another member of the Douglas stock, the Earl of Angus, commanded the royal army that scattered the forces of Moray and Ormond at Arkinholm* (1455). Moray was slain, Ormond executed. The Douglas estates were forfeited. Part was kept for the Crown, and part divided among the King's supporters, such as Angus and Lord Hamilton—the beginning of the power of these two great families. Crawford in the north had been

* Now Langholm, on the Esk.

already crushed by the first Earl of Huntly, head of the rising House of Gordon. Thus the greatest of the noble houses that ever flourished in Scotland was at last destroyed; and thus on its ruins rose others to threaten and to fall in their turn. Meantime the Crown had added to its possessions, and was now wealthier than it had been since the time of Alexander III.

6. *Revival of the English Claims.*—During the rest of his reign James had no trouble with his nobles. He had made himself undisputed master of the realm. A good part of one year he spent in the Highlands, where he came to a friendly understanding with the shifty John of the Isles. Parliament was kept busy, mainly at its usual work of encouraging agriculture and trade, and providing for justice being done to the poor. A new University had been founded in 1451 at Glasgow. A line of beacons was arranged between the Border and the capital to give timely warning of an English invasion. In England was Douglas, a pensioner at the Court of Edward IV, and ready to do all the harm he could to the country that had cast him out. Edward himself was disposed to revive the old claim of superiority over Scotland. That claim, indeed, had never been lost sight of. In the reign of James I an agent had been sent to gather evidence in support of it in Scotland. He returned with a bundle of forged documents for which he had paid a handsome sum. But England was divided by the War of the Roses, in which Lancastrians and Yorkists fought for the Crown. For the time the Yorkists had triumphed, and Edward IV was a

King after the type of the earlier Edwards. He addressed James in a scolding letter as one pretending to be King over 'his rebels of Scotland.' James, who was on good terms with the Lancastrian Henry VI, replied by raiding the English Border. Roxburgh Castle was once more beset. The Lord of the Isles attended with a large body of Highlanders. Cannon were employed in the siege. James II, 'that had the firemark in his face,' was a soldier's King, keenly interested in warfare, and a comrade to his men, mixing with them in camp, and partaking of their camp fare. 'More curious than became a King,' he stood watching his artillery at work, when 'ane misframed gun' burst, and a piece struck and killed him (August 3, 1460). The Queen insisted on the siege going on, and a few days after Roxburgh Castle was once more quit of Englishmen. As such fortresses had proved of service only to the English, it was, with some difficulty owing to its tough masonry, at once destroyed.

CHAPTER XVI

JAMES III (1460-1488)

1. *The Old Lords and the Young Lords.*—As in the case of his father, no time was lost in crowning the young King, nine years old. The ceremony took place in Kelso Abbey a week after the fatal accident at Roxburgh. No Regent was appointed; the King and his two brothers remained in charge of their mother. For a short time she and Bishop

Kennedy acted together in the Government and carried on the policy of the late King in favouring the cause of the Lancastrians in England, which had also the support of France. But the Queen-mother was a fickle woman, and was easily won over to the side of the 'White Rose' of York. Kennedy was backed by the 'old lords,' of whom the Earl of Angus was the chief, while the 'young lords' rallied round Mary. Feeling between the two parties was so strong as almost to bring about a civil war. But the feeble Henry VI and his brave Queen took refuge in Scotland, and paid for their entertainment with the gift of Berwick. Kennedy was thus able to send a large army into England to strike a blow for the 'Red Rose' of Lancaster. At Carlisle it suffered defeat with heavy loss and the party of Lancaster thereupon went out of favour in Scotland.

2. *The Position of the Lord of the Isles.*—But Edward found other means of making trouble for his Scottish enemies. In the Highlands the Lord of the Isles played the princely part which the Earl of Douglas had done in the Lowlands. He had even ampler possessions and fuller power. In the Hebrides he filled the place of the King, who to the people there was merely a name. Descended from their ancient hero Somerled, he was chief of the great clan Macdonald, and from him the other island chiefs held their lands. As Earl of Ross he was in a like position with respect to the clans of the Earldom. As hereditary Sheriff of Inverness, he exercised jurisdiction in the King's name over all Scotland north of the Spey. He was thus at once

a great chief, a powerful feudal lord, and a royal official. Moreover, the language of his domain was Gaelic, and this still further marked it off from the rest of the country. It was, besides, a land most difficult to move about in—scattered islands and lonely glens hidden behind lofty mountains. Even the few royal castles were in the Sheriff's keeping, for there was no standing army to garrison them for the King. Such a potentate was in a more favourable position to assert independence than any other of the Scottish lords. And it was the Lord of the Isles whom Edward now secured for an ally.

3. *Treaty of Westminster.*—John of the Isles, we have seen, had served at Roxburgh, and had been forward in offering to invade England with his Highlanders. On the King's death he sped back north again, and, expecting the usual troubles of a minority, had appropriated the revenues of the Crown lands. For this he was summoned before the Estates, and attended 'with all the lairds of the Isles' to be admonished. Now, through Douglas, he entered into a treaty with the King of England. The three were to work together for the conquest of Scotland. In that event, according to this *Treaty of Westminster* (1462), John and his uncle Donald Balloch were to divide the country north of the Forth; Douglas was to recover his estates in the Lowlands. All were to be 'subjects and liegemen of the King of England,' and in the meantime to be in his pay. John at once set himself up to be King, and ordered all Crown revenues to be paid to his son Angus, as his Lieutenant. Douglas tried to raise his old vassals

on the Borders. Edward himself, it was reported, was about to take the field. The situation was so serious that even the aged Bishop Kennedy donned his armour for service. But the danger passed over. Douglas was driven off. The Lancastrian cause was clearly lost, and was given up by France. It was then abandoned by Kennedy and his friends. The Queen and Angus died about this time, and till the death of the good Bishop in 1465 the country had peace. For John of the Isles, who had been left in the lurch, a day of reckoning was to come.

4. *The Rise and Fall of the Boyds.*—The disappearance of the leading figures in the government of the country left the way to high office open for some adventurous family. The King's instructor in the use of arms and Keeper of Edinburgh Castle was Sir Alexander Boyd, brother of Lord Boyd of Kilmarnock. He made a band with two other lords—Kennedy, a brother of the Bishop, and Fleming, son of the Sir Malcolm Fleming who had shared the Black Dinner with Earl Douglas. They were all western men, and were supported by the Border chiefs, Lord Hepburn of Hailes, and Kerr of Cessford. James was to be seized and given over to Boyd and Kennedy, who, having possession of the King, could act in his name. Fleming was to share in the spoils of office. James was accordingly carried off from a hunting-party at Linlithgow to Edinburgh Castle. A meeting of the Estates was held in the same place. The Estates were always ready to do the bidding of the party in power: no one would dare to offer any opposition, as it might result in his losing his life, or, at least, his

property. Accordingly, the Estates approved of the doings of the banded lords. The Boyds had things all their own way. Lord Boyd was made Governor, Chancellor, and Justiciary. His eldest son, Sir Thomas Boyd, married the King's eldest sister Mary, was created Earl of Arran, and loaded with estates. Less than four years later the Boyds were stripped of all their sudden splendour. A marriage was being arranged between James and the Princess Margaret, daughter of Christian, King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden ; and Arran brought over the twelve-years-old Queen. His wife met him on board ship with the news that James 'had conceived great hatred against him.' He returned to Denmark. The Estates now condemned the whole family for treason, and their lands became the property of the Crown. Lord Boyd escaped to England, but Sir Alexander Boyd was executed. The Princess Mary, Arran's wife, afterwards married Lord Hamilton, and the Hamiltons thus took a place next to the royal family.

5. *The Orkney and Shetland Isles added to Scotland* (1469).—James, by his marriage, cleared himself of a debt and added to his dominions. Since the days of Alexander III Scotland had held the Western Isles for a yearly rent of 100 marks. But this 'Norway Annual' was never regularly paid. No payment had been made since the reign of James I. The Annual itself and all arrears were now remitted as part of Queen Margaret's dowry, and in addition there was to be a sum of 60,000 florins. But as King Christian could raise at present only a small part of this sum, the Orkney and the Shetland Islands,

still in possession of the Danish Crown, were handed over as a pledge for payment. The marriage took place in July, 1469. Three years later the Earldom of Orkney was acquired for the Crown. In later times offers were frequently made to redeem the islands, but the Scottish Kings would have nothing to do with any such transaction.

6. *The Lord of the Isles loses the Earldom of Ross* (1476).—A treaty of peace with England gave an opportunity of dealing with the rebellious Lord of the Isles. What had been the course of affairs in the North during the twelve years since he had assumed royal power is not known. The Earl of Huntly seems to have kept him in check. He was now summoned to appear before Parliament, and answer for his treasonable behaviour. When he did not appear, a fleet and an army were assembled under the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Crawford, to carry out a sentence of forfeiture. John yielded, and the Queen used her influence on his behalf. He had to give up his earldom, which was added to the royal domain, and his position as Sheriff. He retained the title and the greater part of the lands of his lordship. Wroth at such weakness, Angus, his son and heir, took up arms against both King and father. Overrunning Ross, he defeated the Mackenzies, who were on the royal side. The northern Earls drove him back to his islands. There he maintained a civil war, being supported by his own clan against John and the Macleans and Macleods of the North Isles. He scattered their galleys in the battle of *Bloody Bay*, near Tobermory, in Mull. But shortly after he made a sorry end at

Inverness, where he was slain by an Irish harper 'in his own chamber.'

7. *James and his Favourites.*—Meantime James himself was not in a comfortable position. By a large section of the nobles his manner of life was keenly disliked. He was clever, as all the Stewarts were. But he was not a soldier-King like his father, nor an able administrator like his grandfather. He had the artistic tastes of the poet-King. He was much interested, too, in the science of the time —in astrology and chemistry. Dark-haired and of an olive complexion, he had a foreign look. On the other hand, his brothers, the Dukes of Albany and Mar, were of the true native stock. Albany was a big-limbed, generous, and masterful man of whom the nobles stood in fear. Mar was a sportsman and lover of horses. They lived the open-air life of hunting and soldiering, which was the only sort of life the Scottish nobles understood. James 'loved solitude, and desired never to hear of war, but delighted more in music and policy and building, nor he did in the government of the realm . . . in the playing of instruments, nor in the defence of the borders and administration of justice.' His close friends were men of like tastes with himself — Thomas Cochrane, an architect, Rogers, a musician, and others; even the royal tailor received favours. No doubt these were men of special talent in their own lines, but to the Scottish nobles they were merely 'masons, fiddlers,' etc. Feeling became so strained that James, in self-defence, had to put his brothers in ward. Mar died in a fever in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Albany

JAMES III AND HIS SON.

From the picture by Van der Goes at Holyrood.

escaped from Edinburgh Castle, and went to France.

8. *Bad Times in the Country.*—Beyond doubt James, having so many other interests, was slack in the business of government. He could be firm enough on occasions, but he did not keep it up. He was ready to forgive, and wished for peace. Parliament met regularly, usually at Edinburgh. But it was becoming the custom for Parliament to work through a committee formed from the three Estates, and known as the *Lords of the Articles.*

UNICORN: JAMES III.

Motto on reverse to right: 'Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered.'

This committee, while it lasted, had all the power of Parliament. The country, as a whole, was in a most unsettled state. To the war dragging on in the North were added feuds between great families elsewhere, from Angus to the Borders. Because of the frequent slaughters Parliament had already decreed that 'forethought murder' should not have benefit of sanctuary. Pestilence, too, had visited the people. Then came a famine and a war with England, and the price of food rose high. These misfortunes 'caused both hunger and dearth, and many poor folk died of hunger.' For the hardness of the times and the high prices people blamed the

'black money,' which had been in circulation since the beginning of the reign. It was made of a mixture of silver and copper, known as billon. One piece, known as the 'plack,'* was supposed to be worth threepence, which was now the value of the ordinary silver 'sterling.' People would not give as much for the bad coin as for the good one, so the plack fell to twopence. Cochrane was believed to make a profit from the coining. He had also got from the King the revenues of the Earldom of Mar. Of all the royal favourites he was the most detested.

9. *The Favourites are Hanged at Lauder* (1482).—Both James and Edward IV had shown themselves desirous of peace between their countries. In 1472 the Pope had made St. Andrews an archbishopric, with rule over all the Scottish Bishops. This closed the claim of the Archbishop of York to be supreme over the Scottish Church. The usual way of bringing two countries close together in those days was by marriages between the royal families. Various schemes of this sort had been suggested by James to Edward, but none was ever carried out. Now James made war to please Louis XI of France. The Earl of Angus crossed the Border to waste the northern counties and fulfil the old Scottish boast of having lain for three nights on English ground. An English fleet did much mischief in the Firth of Forth before it was beaten off by Sir Andrew Wood, the most famous of Scottish seamen. Then Edward had Albany brought over from France. The exiled Duke accepted the offer of his brother's crown as 'Alex-

* French *plaque:* a medal or metal plate.

ander, King of Scotland, by the gift of the King of England.' He was to marry an English lady, break off the alliance with France, and do homage for his kingdom. This was the *Treaty of Fotheringay*. Like the Treaty of Westminster, it was Edward's way of checking the movement of the Scots against him. An English army now marched to the Border. James led a large force to meet them, making for the Tweed by the shortest road, down Lauderdale. But as they lay at Lauder the Scottish Earls, led by Angus—on this account known as 'Bell-the-Cat'—Huntly, and Lennox, arrested the King, and seized and hanged all his favourites, with one exception, over Lauder Bridge (1482). They then came to terms with the English, who dispersed after making themselves masters of Berwick, never again a Scottish town. Albany joined the revolted Earls, who were now masters of the kingdom.

10. *Albany and James.*—These events left Albany supreme. He was restored to his former estates and honours; Parliament added to them, and made him Lieutenant-General of the realm. James was confined for a few months in Edinburgh Castle, but Albany brought about his release, and the brothers even lived together. Albany, however, was not satisfied. He took up again his secret scheming with the King of England, and the discovery of this put him in James's power. The Scots had suffered too much for their independence to allow it to be bartered away in such a fashion. Albany was forced to give up his high office. In the end he departed again to England, having first introduced

an English garrison into his castle of Dunbar. Thereupon the Estates condemned him for treason, and forfeited all his lands. A year after more than thirty of his supporters were similarly punished. Albany and Douglas made one more effort for the overthrow of the Scottish King. They appeared with a body of horse at Lochmaben Fair, expecting to be joined by friends on the Border. Instead, they were attacked and driven away. Albany escaped on a swift horse, and afterwards retired to France, where he died within a year from an accident at a tournament. Douglas, on whose traitorous head the Estates had put a price, was allowed to shut himself up in the Abbey of Lindores. 'He that may not better be must be a monk,' was his remark.

11. *Conspiracy against the King.*—But James had rid himself of one set of rebels only to find himself faced by another. He still ignored and kept aloof from the nobles. 'Placks' were still being forced on traders for lack of gold and silver. The Earl of Angus, 'Bell-the-Cat,' had some reason to fear for his own position, as he had been Albany's agent in his dealings with England. On the other hand, James had given deep offence to the House of Hume, whose close friends were the Hepburns, a notorious Border family. They had both been allies of the Boyds, who had suffered so heavily at the royal hands. James had presented the revenues of Coldingham Priory to his Chapel Royal at Stirling, where he maintained a large choir of singers and musicians. Lord Hume claimed that the priory was in the gift of his family, but James, through Parliament, dared anyone to oppose him in this.

Resentment against the King and his new group of advisers took shape in a network of conspiracy that spread over the Borders. It included the Earls of Angus and Argyll, the Bishop of Glasgow, and Lords Hume and Hailes (Hepburn). They secured possession of the heir to the throne, Prince James, sixteen years old, and put him at their head. The King withdrew to Aberdeen, where he found the northern Earls and barons loyal to himself. He was joined by the Bishop, and by the Earls of Huntly, Atholl, Crawford, Sutherland, etc. The kingdom was thus roughly divided—South against North. 'The burgesses, merchants, and unlanded men' stood for the King. A short truce was brought about by the *Pacification of Blackness*, and James promised to select his advisers from those entitled to that position—that is, the nobles and prelates. Still the rebel lords did not lay down their arms, and both parties appealed to Henry VII of England for assistance. The armies drew together on the field of *Sauchieburn*, south of Bannockburn (1488). James had girt on the sword of Robert Bruce. But early in the fight he disappeared on a restive horse, leaving behind him a losing cause. For some days it was not known what had become of the King. It was even thought that he had taken refuge with his devoted friend Sir Andrew Wood, whose ships lay in the Forth, not far from Sauchieburn. At last his dead body was discovered some distance from the battlefield. How or at whose hands he had 'happened to be slain' was never known. The commons viewed the event with horror and long regret for their gentle and cultivated King.

Four years later 'the heavy voice and murmur of the people' was still so great that a reward was publicly offered for the discovery of the King's murderers, but without any result.

CHAPTER XVII

JAMES IV (1488-1513)

1. *The New Government.*—James IV ascended the throne with an uneasy conscience. He had taken arms against his father, and, in a sense, had brought about his death. This he never forgot. As a self-imposed penance he wore next his skin a belt of iron padded with worsted, the weight of which he increased every year. He was attentive to all the services of the Church, and at times, when remorse sat heavy on his mind, he would go on pilgrimage to some distant shrine, such as the Church of St. Duthac at Tain or the sepulchre of St. Ninian at Whithorn. The nobles bore their blame more lightly. What had happened, they said, was all due to the late King and 'his perverse council,' who had broken faith and arranged for the 'inbringing of Englishmen to the perpetual subjection of the realm.' Yet they themselves had asked for English help. An explanation on these lines was, however, drawn up by the Parliament and sent to the chief Courts of Europe and to the Pope. But while they excused themselves abroad, the successful nobles made the most of their chances at home. They secured offices and lands. Argyll became Chancellor; Angus was guardian of the King.

The Humes and Hepburns were loaded with profitable posts, and Lord Hailes (Hepburn) received the title and lands of the Earldom of Bothwell. Lesser members of these families and others of the Border lairds got their share of Government salaries and forfeited lands. It was some time, however, before order was restored. Two years later James, in a letter to the Pope, said : ' Since assuming the crown I have exerted myself much to quell the disturbances prevailing in my kingdom, and to reduce it to peace and unity. . . . Our old enemies of England have also harassed my subjects, whom I have protected against the inroads of their adversaries by my assiduous exertions.'

2. *James and Foreign Powers.*—The trouble with England began at sea. Sir Andrew Wood with the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel* had defeated a squadron of English ships which lay in wait for merchantmen entering the Firth of Forth. Three ships sent by Henry VII to punish him for this he beat in a two days' fight behind the Isle of May, and captured with their commander and crews. But Henry was not anxious for war. His own throne was not yet firmly placed. He was allied, too, with Ferdinand of Spain, whose daughter was to marry his son. The rival of the Spanish monarch for the first place in Europe was France, and it was the aim of both Spain and England to prevent James renewing the ancient alliance with that country. James found himself and his country of European importance. But Henry preferred to work by underhand means. He had Scottish spies in his pay. Another Douglas was ready to betray his

country. The Earl of Angus made a secret treaty with the English King that in the event of war he would place his castle of Hermitage in Henry's hands, and thus leave Liddesdale open to the English. The plot was discovered, and Angus was relieved of castle and dale, which were entrusted to the Earl of Bothwell. The alliance was concluded with France; James binding himself to attack the King of England should he make war on that country.

3. *James and the Church.*—The opposition of the Scottish Kings and Estates to any increase of the Pope's power in Scotland, had always been very marked. Even in the reign of a devout churchman like James it was clearly shown. That a man should go to Rome and purchase from the Pope an appointment in the Church, was forbidden as treason. Those who carried law cases to the Papal Court for judgment were ordered to bring them home and submit them to the proper judges there. Such abuses were not only inroads on the royal power, but took money out of the realm. Then, to prevent the head of the Church in Scotland from becoming too strong, James pressed the Pope to erect Glasgow into an archbishopric, which was done, in spite of the bitter opposition of St. Andrews (1492). The new Archbishop showed his zeal by reviving the persecution of heretics. In Ayrshire were still many of the sect of Lollards. Forty of these, including some women, were summoned before the King and his Great Council. As most of them came from the district of Kyle, they are known as the *Lollards of Kyle.* The chief of the many charges

against them were that they refused to reverence images and saints; declared that the Pope was not the successor of Peter, and had no power to forgive sins; that there was no miracle in the Mass; that priests might have wives; and that 'the principals in the Church,' from the Pope downwards, were thieves and murderers. But at the trial the leader of the Lollards showed himself a man of ready wit, and so answered the Bishops 'that the greatest part of the accusation was turned to laughter.' Nothing was done to the Lollards, and 'ane spunk of light' continued to burn on in Ayrshire, to help later in lighting the fire of the Reformation.

4. *End of the Lordship of the Isles* (1493).—To the 'peace and unity' which James desired for his kingdom the Lordship of the Isles was still the chief obstacle. It was the storm-cloud of the West Highlands. Macdonald continued to hanker after the lost Earldom of Ross. Lord John himself was a timid man, but his nephew and heir, Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, on his suggestion, once again attempted the recovery of the province by force. Inverness was taken and plundered, and the lands of the Black Isle wasted. But the clan Mackenzie fell on the retiring Macdonalds and defeated them. The Lordship of the Isles was forfeited. John surrendered, and died a royal pensioner—the last of the island lords. The King visited the Hebrides in person on several occasions to receive the submission of the chiefs. He showed himself ready to conciliate them, and granted them fresh charters of their lands. Each chief was made responsible for the serving of summonses upon

clansmen who had broken the law. If the man did not appear, the chief would have to take his place. But the island clans continued restless. Again Alexander of Lochalsh invaded Ross, but was again defeated by the Mackenzies. The King, in consequence of such troubles, recalled all the charters he had given the western chiefs, who were thus left legally landless. The old vassals were to be removed with all 'broken men'—that is, the general population—and the lands of the lordship were to be rented to 'true men.' This was an impossible undertaking, and it at once provoked a rising. The royal power was supported by the Campbells, the Stewarts of Appin, the Macians of Ardnamurchan, the Mackenzies and the Mackays. The Macdonalds, Macleans, Macleods, and Camerons rallied round a son of Angus son of John, the last lord, named Donald Dubh ('the black'). This rising was a most serious one, and took two years to suppress. The military forces of the whole kingdom were called out. The King operated against the rebel Highlanders from the South, while the Earl of Huntly led the royal army in the North. Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton beset the isles with their armed ships. Donald was captured and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. The Highlands and Islands were now placed under the control of the Earl of Huntly and the Earl of Argyll. Arrangements were made for the holding of sheriff-courts at convenient centres. The Campbells of Argyll and the Gordons of Huntly came to fill the place of the old Lords of the Isles. Like these, too, they used their position to advance the interests of their

families. The chiefs who had formerly looked to Macdonald as their superior, now held their lands of these noblemen or of the King. Thus the clans became more sharply distinguished, and feuds over their possessions continually broke out. No royal official could have the influence over them which the Macdonald chiefs had exercised, through the numerous branches of their family and the ancient standing of a house that had ruled for so many centuries in the Hebrides. For the rest of the reign, however, the North and West gave no further trouble.

5. *James and Education.*—James was a fairly well educated man who had a good library and showed much interest in the scientific ideas of the time. More important still, he was awake to the need of educating his people. In 1495 he joined with the good Bishop Elphinstone in founding the ' King's College ' at Aberdeen to be a centre of instruction for the north country, where even for the Church ' fit men were not to be found.' An Act was also passed in 1496 ordering all barons and freeholders to send their eldest sons to the grammar schools, and afterwards to the schools of law, so that they might be able to act as judges in their own districts. The proper administration of the law was the most crying need of the kingdom, and James himself set a good example by his activity in presiding from time to time at ' Ayres,' or circuit courts. He ' executed the law without respect to rich or poor.'

6. *James supports an English Pretender* (1495-7). —The expiry of the truce with England found

James ready to support a pretender to the English throne. This was Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be the Duke of York, younger son of Edward IV, and to have escaped from the Tower of London when the princes were murdered by order of Richard III. Warbeck was encouraged by the enemies of Henry VII, and James received him with enthusiasm. He gave him a pension, and had him married to the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntly. Warbeck promised to give James Berwick in return for help in placing him on the English throne. A Scottish army harried Northumberland, but James and the pretender quarrelled. On their return Warbeck was quietly shipped out of the kingdom, to fall later into Henry's hands. James, however, again invaded England, but retired before the advance of the Earl of Surrey. Surrey crossed into Scotland to find no foe, but 'continual wind and unmeasurable rain.' A seven years' truce was secured by the efforts of the Spanish ambassador, still seeking to win over Scotland from France. Henry was in difficulties with some of his subjects, while James was in sore need of money, having had to coin his own plate and his 'great chain' to raise funds for the war.

7. *Marriage of James with Margaret Tudor* (1503). —Henry, anxious to prolong the peace, next pressed upon the Scottish King a match with his eldest daughter, Margaret. After long negotiation this was accepted, and amid much pomp and gallantry and rejoicing the union was carried through. Edinburgh gave the young English Queen a noble reception. The houses were hung with tapestry,

the streets and windows were crowded with spectators, a band 'played merrily,' 'bells rang for mirth,' and a fountain flowed with wine for all to drink. The Scottish poet William Dunbar celebrated the occasion in a poem called 'The Thistle and the Rose.' It was a most important event in the history of both countries. One hundred years later it brought a Scottish King to the throne of England, and so peacefully united two kingdoms which force could never have made into one.

8. *James and the Borders.*—James, having brought the Highlands into 'strict subjection,' showed himself equally active in curbing the lawlessness in the other end of the kingdom. The constant fighting with England had bred on the Borders a warlike people among whom neither life nor property was secure. Frequently robbed by raiding parties, they raided and robbed in turn, if not the English, then each other. The country was dotted with square towers of stone which gave refuge to the spoilers. To suppress these practices James held frequent courts at the principal towns. Theft was the common offence, but theft led also to fighting and slaughters. Thus, on the last of these 'Ayres' the King rode from Edinburgh to Jedburgh, and 'took divers broken men, of whom some were justified (executed), and the principals of the troubles came in linen clothes, with naked swords in their hands, and halters about their necks, and put them in the King's will; who were sent to divers castles in ward, with sundry others of that country men also; whereat the Borders were in greater quietness thereafter.'

9. *Character of the King.*—James IV had thus, to a greater extent than any of his family before him, made the power of the central government felt in every corner of the kingdom. As a writer of the time says : ' He protected the people from injury by the nobles ; and he kept the nobles in harmonious peace, partly by his moderation and liberality, and partly by the fear of punishment.' In Scotland the King stood between the nobles and the people. The nobles would have lived in constant strife. The people were not well enough organized to protect themselves and their belongings against them ; hence they supported the King. And the Stewarts had popular instincts. James IV would travel alone and in disguise through the country and converse with poor men in order to learn their feelings towards himself. He had a good appearance and an agreeable manner. His reddish hair and beard he usually wore long. Like his father, he interested himself in literature and in the arts. In his reign the first printed books were produced in Scotland, in Edinburgh. He went to much expense in improving the royal palaces and filling them with costly furniture. Fine building was the master-art of the age. He was fond of music, kept ' lutars and harpers,' and when he held a criminal court at Dumfries, was entertained by English singers and minstrels. On the same occasion he played at cards for money with the English warden, as he was in the habit of doing with his friends. In other ways his conduct was less worthy, and he had favourites about him to whom he made gifts which he could ill afford. To all who served him he was most

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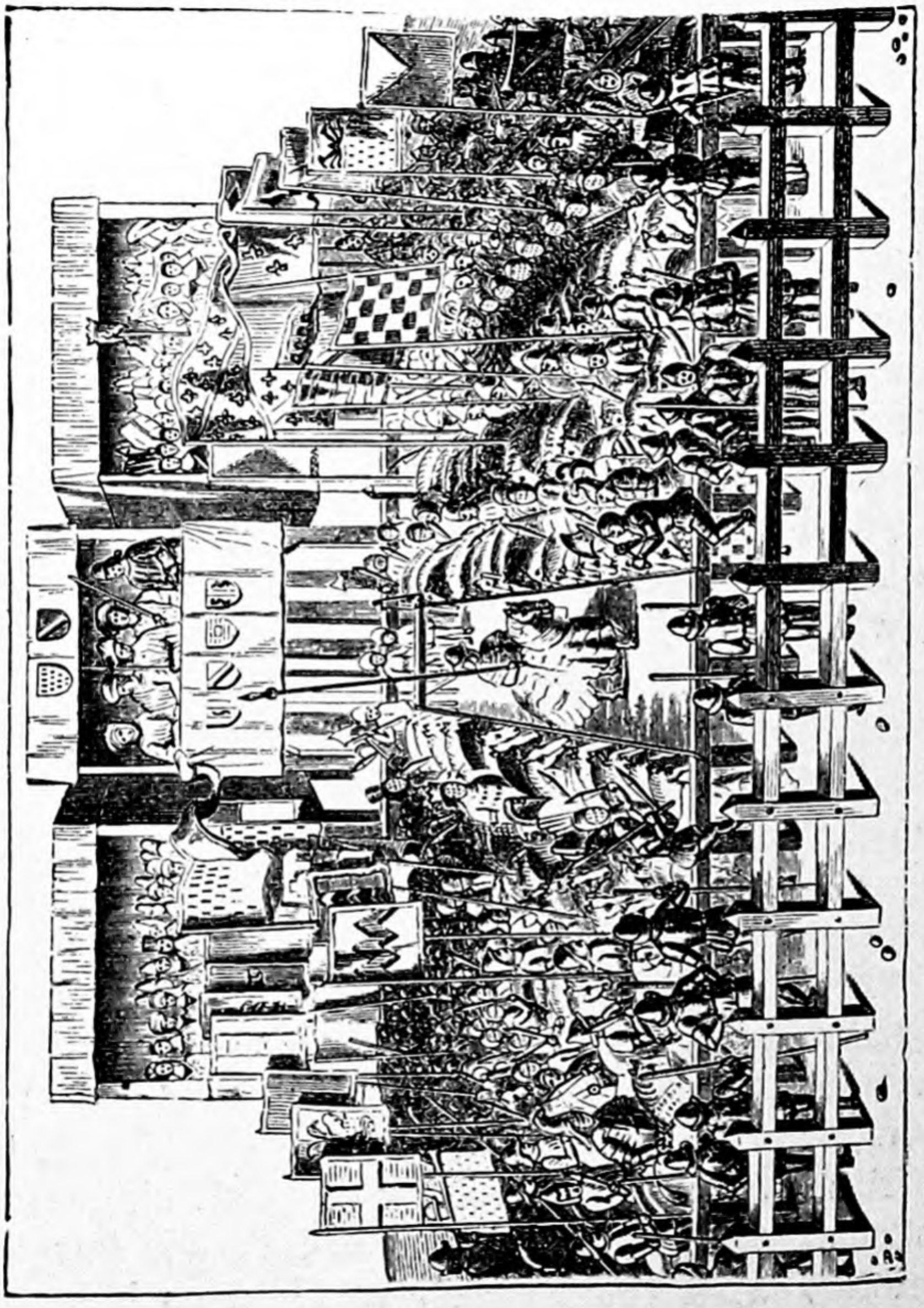
generous. But he was by nature impulsive and rash, so that an English poet speaks of him as a 'bull'; and he was given to 'cracks and boasts.'



A 'WAPPINSCHAWING.'

From Tytler's 'History of Scotland.'

His personal courage was in the end his undoing. 'He is not a good captain,' says one who knew him, 'because he begins to fight before he has given his orders.'

10. *A Royal Navy and Royal Artillery.*—All his reign James worked at increasing the fighting power of his kingdom. Following the example of James I and James II, he, too, tried to force the practice of archery on the people; and football and golf, as 'unprofitable sports,' were forbidden. Four times a year there were to be 'wappinschawings' (weapon-showings) in each district, when every man able to bear arms had to appear with such 'harness' and weapons as his station could afford. Tournaments, too, were a favourite pastime, where knights fought with wooden clubs for battle-axes. But James's great achievement was his navy. The naval success of Wood and the Bartons—Andrew, John, and Robert—against the English and the Dutch, had been made in armed merchantmen, hired for the purpose. James desired regular ships of war. His total fleet came to number about two dozen vessels, great and small, of which the largest was the *Great Michael* surpassing in size and armament any ship afloat. This desire for size was shown also in the guns of the period, of which 'Mons Meg' in Edinburgh Castle is an example. Guns of iron and brass were made for the King in Stirling and Edinburgh, and the Scottish arsenals were famous. For the skilled work of shipbuilding and gun-making workmen had to be brought from Germany and Flanders.

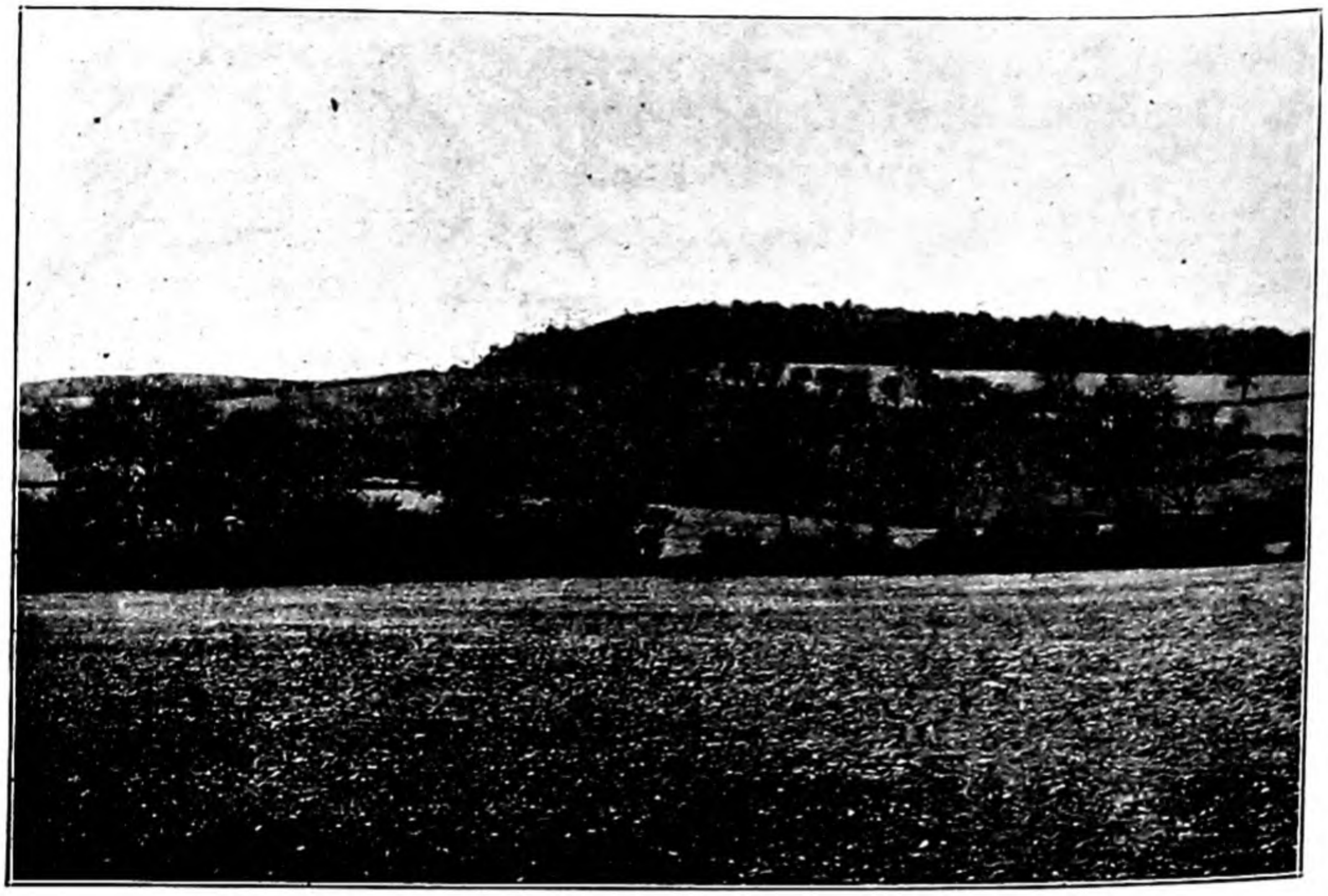
11. *Scotland and the Holy League.*—In 1509 Henry VII died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. Married to a Spanish princess, and ambitious of recovering the lost English dominions in France, the young Henry joined the 'Holy League' formed by the warrior Pope, Julius II, against that country.

It included Spain, England, and the German or 'Holy Roman' Empire. These Powers made every effort to detach Scotland, her only ally, from France. Two years before the Pope had sent to James a purple hat and a richly mounted sword; and proclaimed him 'Protector of the Christian Religion.' Louis XII appealed strongly to James to stand by the old alliance, so that Henry, from fear of a northern invasion, might be kept at home. James resolved to hold by France, urging that 'if France were conquered, Scotland would be attacked by those folks'—that is, the English. Later events showed that James was right in this belief. Moreover, he had his own quarrels with Henry VIII. The English had not strictly observed the truce. Sir Robert Ker, the Scottish Warden of the Middle March, had been set on and slain at a peaceful Border meeting. Andrew Barton with two ships had been attacked by an English squadron off the Downs, on the grounds that he was a pirate. Barton was killed and his ships added to the English navy. Besides, Henry kept possession of the money and jewels which had been left to Queen Margaret by their father. All these matters, however, James insisted, might be arranged should Henry refrain from attacking France. Disasters had befallen the French at the hands of the Holy League, and Henry now got ready for a fresh invasion of their territory. Thereupon James called out the whole array of his kingdom. During the summer of 1513 Scotland rang with military and naval preparations. The *Great Michael* was being fitted out even by candlelight. Henry was now in France. The Scottish

host assembled on the Borough Muir, near Edinburgh. Every corner of the kingdom furnished its soldiers. Ettrick sent her 'flowers o' the Forest'; from the West came the 'wild Scots,' with their claymores and bows; and the men of Caithness, in uniform of green, followed their fighting Bishop. Early in August the best-equipped army that ever gathered in Scotland marched to the Tweed. With it went seventeen guns drawn by oxen; the balls of stone and the barrels of gunpowder being carried in baskets on horses or in carts.

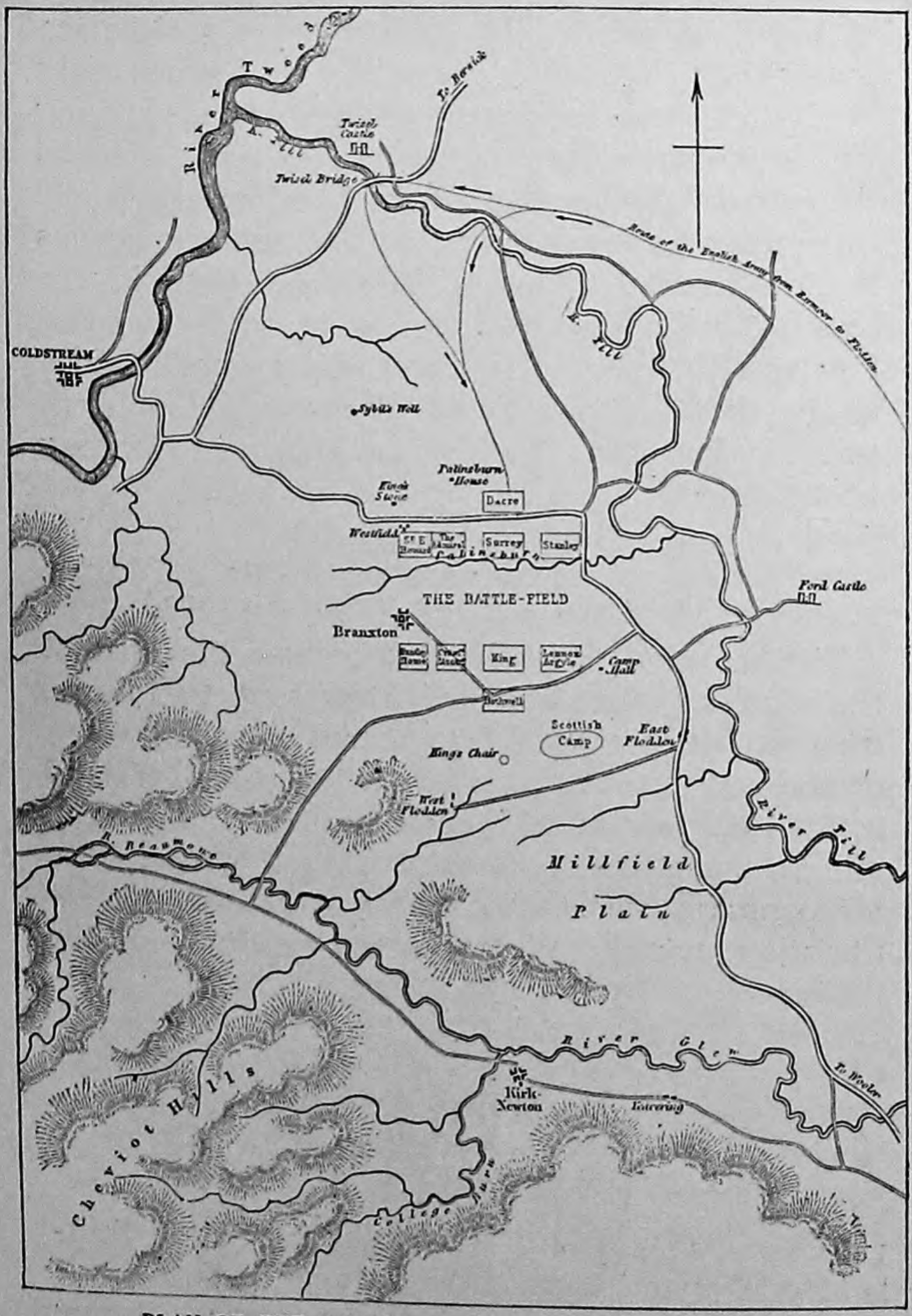
12. *Battle of Flodden, September* 9, 1513.—James, having thrown down some 'peels' and captured Norham Castle, took up a strong position on Flodden Hill. On one side were the Cheviots, and on the other was the flooded river Till. There the Earl of Surrey found the Scots housed in huts under the wet, stormy September weather, while his own army lacked food and shelter. James refused a challenge to come down and fight on the plain, and Surrey, therefore, marched north on the east bank of the Till. Crossing by a bridge and ford, he came up on the Scottish rear. The Scots, setting fire to their camp, moved down through the smoke to the slope of Branxton Hill. The battle was begun by the artillery, but the better-served English batteries soon silenced the Scottish guns. Then, at four in the afternoon, the forces 'came to handstrokes,' the Scots attacking 'after the German manner, without speaking of any word.' Their left, under Huntly and Home, broke through the English wing, but Home's Borderers at once started to plunder, and the English recovered. The

right was composed of Highlanders, who failed before the spears of Sir Edward Stanley. But Stanley's men also 'left the chase and fell a-spoiling.' To the Borderers on both sides this was the chief business of the day. In the Scottish centre was the King, encircled by his choicest troops. All fought on foot, and the Scots even removed their shoes



FLODDEN FIELD.

to get better standing on the slippery grass. It was here that the fight raged. The Scots were so well armoured that 'shot of arrows did them no harm.' But the English 'bills'—long-bladed axes—lopped off the heads of their eighteen-foot spears, and beat down their swords, though the Scots were 'so mighty, large, strong, and great men that they would not fall when four or five bills struck on one



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD (1513).

(Disposition of Forces uncertain.)

of them at once.' The English gave no quarter, but 'rid all that came to hand.' Thus, when night at last ended the fierce struggle, the slaughter among the unyielding Scots had been great. Around their dead King lay the bodies of thirteen Earls and three Bishops, and of gentlemen and commoners beyond number. Not a family of note in the country but mourned the loss of some member. Lowland lairds and Highland chiefs were mingled in the slain—Maxwells and Elliots with Campbells and MacIan and MacLean. The poet Lindsay wrote later:

> 'I never read in tragedy nor story,
> At one journéy* so many nobles slain,
> For the defence and love of their Soverane.'

The beautiful Scottish guns became the prize of the victors. The fleet had been sent to France, where a few ships were bought and whence but few of the rest returned. The clumsy *Great Michael* rotted uselessly in a French harbour. The dead King, having been excommunicated by the Pope for opposing the Holy Alliance, could not receive Christian burial. Where lies the dust of the brilliant James IV no one knows.

CHAPTER XVIII

SCOTLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

1. *Scotland's Politics.*—The main interest of Scotland during the fourteenth century is its struggle against England for national independence; during

* French word, 'day.'

the fifteenth, the struggle for mastery within the country between King and barons. James I and James III had both been the victims of conspiracies among the nobles. But rebel houses had from time to time been destroyed or crushed, and by the end of the century the Crown was richer and stronger than it had been at the beginning. England, meanwhile, was fully occupied with civil war. Her Kings were chiefly anxious to guard against Scottish attacks, as their own position was insecure. The two countries, however, were held to be at war as long as there was no actual truce. One cause of this was the alliance of Scotland with France, another the English possession of Berwick, and, for a time, of Roxburgh. James II and James IV, two of Scotland's ablest monarchs, fell in war upon England. Hatred of the English became part of the Scottish character. Englishmen called the Scots born traitors, while the Scots said the English were cunning cowards. Yet some of the best minds in Scotland were already beginning to deplore all this, and to think of a time when by peaceful union such bitter feelings and cruel strifes should have an end.

2. *The Land and the Peasantry.*—For the country as a whole, however, the century was one of steady advance in wealth and comfort. In the reign of James IV it was said that 'there is as great a difference between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between bad and good.' The chief industry was still agriculture, and the greater part of the population was engaged on the land. Farmers and labourers were pressed by laws to spread the cultivation of the soil. Much of the

tilled land was on the hillsides, for the lower levels were usually filled with lochans or marshes. The most fertile districts were Nithsdale, the Lothians, Fife, and Moray. The peasantry of Scotland, like those of England, were rather better off than their fellows in France or Germany. Their houses, indeed, were poor. The best were built of stone without lime, and roofed with turf or heather, with an ox-hide, often, for a door. But if a bad season sometimes caused a bread famine, there was no lack of flesh and fish. The Scots were great eaters of mutton; horned sheep were very plentiful, but on the high moorlands they had still to be protected from wolves. The better farming folk were as yet the backbone of Scottish life. They were the fittest soldiers, and carried themselves very independently. The laws made it a serious offence to ride through the unfenced crops. Every man went armed to church and market. If he was struck by one of higher degree, he at once struck back. It was noted of the people of Scotland that 'Every man speaks what he will, without blame. The man hath more words than the master.' On the Continent a peasant was at his master's mercy. The Scottish farmers would fight for any powerful lord to his death, 'if only they have a liking for him.' This gave the nobles their great power for mischief. On the other hand, they looked carefully to their own interests, and thus they would support a good Government. There were no peasant risings in Scotland such as were now flaming out in the heart of Europe. But the poorest class were still serfs, who had to labour for their lords during the week, and so could work

at their own little fields only on Sundays. The poorer farmers, too, who could not afford the time to attend markets, went to church to make their purchases. There, during the service, they bought from travelling pedlars girdles, purses, shoes, and fruits. What struck visitors from other countries was the absence of trees and hedges in the Lowlands. The building of the *Great Michael* 'wasted all the woods of Fife, except Falkland, which were oak wood.' Much timber had gone for fuel, but coal was now being used. In the reign of James I the 'black stones' were given to the poor as alms at the church door. Orchards were to be found by the great monasteries as at Haddington, which was famous for its fruits. Roads were bad, and the quickest way of travelling was on horseback. Not even the King kept a carriage. Yet the King and the nobles moved about a great deal. Inns were few, for the monasteries and abbeys took in travellers, and the Scots were a hospitable people.

3. *The Towns.*—By the end of the century Edinburgh was, beyond doubt, the principal town of the kingdom. It was the chief royal residence. There all important State meetings were held. It was surrounded by country-seats of the gentry. But Perth was still the only walled town. The raising and upkeep of city walls was too expensive a burden for Scottish citizens. Usually a town was closed in by low stone dikes joining the back walls of the gardens, and so making it necessary to enter by the proper 'ports' or gates. The streets were made unsightly and unpleasant by the heaps of refuse cast from the houses. When James IV and

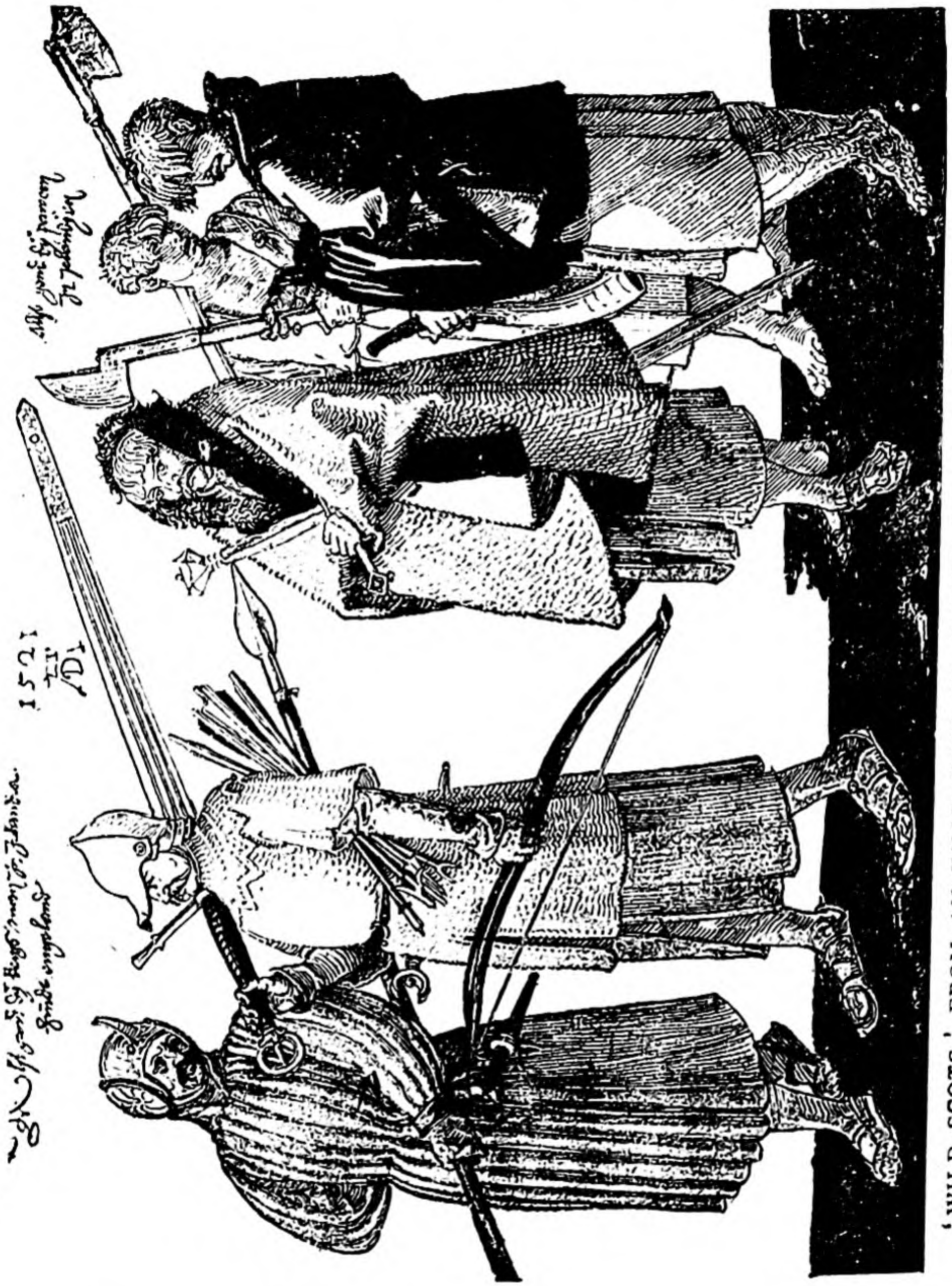
Margaret visited Aberdeen the swine, which had the run of Scottish towns, were ordered to be cleared off the main street for a whole fortnight. Cripples and noisy beggars pestered the passers-by; and with the shopmen in their wooden 'booths' or sheds in front of the houses, kept up a constant din. The lower parts of the houses were now usually built of stone, the upper of wood. Across the front of most houses was a wooden gallery. A stone stair led to the first floor. Glass windows were found only in the best houses, and they were carried from one to another when the family shifted residence. Elsewhere were only wooden shutters with holes. Tapestry or cloth, brown or green, was hung on the roughly plastered walls, and that, too, was taken down when the house was not occupied. Floors were strewn with stiff grass or rushes mixed with sweet-smelling herbs. The narrow, unpaved streets were shadowed by the projecting wooden fronts, galleries and 'fore-stairs' of the houses. In the towns some form of deadly disease or 'pest' always lingered. Lepers clamoured for alms about the gates. Frequently the country was swept by some special plague, such as the 'pestilence, but (without) mercy' of 1439, which killed in twenty-four hours, and from which no one recovered.

4. *Trade and Commerce.*—Still, the poorer country folk had already begun to crowd into the towns, where a labourer could earn 1s. a day, and a skilled workman 3s. to 5s. This was good wages, as an ox could be bought for £1 to £2, and fish was very cheap. To each burgh was attached a wide district of country, and in the burgh only could things

be bought and sold. The countryman had to carry his produce to the town market. At the gate he paid a small tax or 'petty custom.' The prices of all goods were fixed by the burgh officers. Only the royal burghs could export goods or deal with merchants from abroad. Thus, Edinburgh did a foreign trade, but not Leith, though it was a seaport. Scotland's exports were mainly coarse cloth, salt manufactured from sea-water, and the hides of animals. These went mostly to Flanders and France. The burgesses of one burgh could trade with those of another only at the yearly fair. The merchants were still the wealthiest and most powerful class in the towns, but the craftsmen, the weavers, brewers, smiths, glovers, tailors, and suchlike, were the more numerous, and were raising themselves to be equal with the merchants and to secure a share in the government of the burgh. The rivalry between the merchants and the craftsmen was the main part of the politics of the towns. And while the rich stores of iron in the country were untouched, the Kings gave much attention to working the scanty gold and silver to be found in the Lead Hills. One reason of this was the great scarcity of coined money. To make it more plentiful the precious metals were largely mixed with copper, so that the Scottish coins were worth only one-fourth of those of England, and continued to fall in value.

5. *The Highlands and the Borders.*—Markedly different from the rest of the population in language and dress were the people of the Highlands. Mountains and pathless moors kept them out of

touch with their southern neighbours. Divided glens and islands kept up divisions among them-



'WILD SCOTS,' FROM AN ENGRAVING BY ALBERT DURER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

From 'The Days of James IV' (D. Nutt).

The inscriptions show that the figures are Irish, but in dress and equipment they represent equally well the Highlanders of the West (*cf.* p. 178). The figures to the right are of the poorer class

selves. They were known as the 'Irishry,' or the 'Wild Scots'; the Gaels and their language being in origin Irish. Though corn was grown, the High-

landers supported themselves mainly from their small cattle and sheep and horses. Their drovers brought to the markets of Dundee or Perth herds of hardy little ponies. In the Highlands, too, wide forests were still to be found, and the cut timber was floated down the lochs and streams to Perth and Inverness. There was always a good deal of trade going on between Highlands and Lowlands. Clan quarrels were, of course, a serious obstacle. Lord Lovat, chief of the Frasers, would not allow the Glengarry Macdonalds to float their timber through his lands to Inverness. The Borders, again, by the stirrings and destructions of the frequent English wars, were as unsettled as the Highlands. Thus, in the year after Flodden the English Warden swept over the Marches with fire and sword. Corn was burned, and the English drove the sheep and cattle before them, while the Border clans gathered and dogged their march. In Eskdale they destroyed thirty-four townships. So, 'whereas there were, in all times past, four hundred ploughs and above,' these townships of the West March 'are now clearly wasted, and no man living in any of them at this day, save only in the towers Annan, Stepill, and Wauchope.' To such treatment the Borderers were accustomed, and they retaliated in like manner. Suffering in addition from clan strifes among themselves, they had little encouragement to persist in industry and the arts of peace.

6. *Dress and Manners.*—Dress in Scotland was much like that in other European countries, and during the fifteenth century it was everywhere fantastic. The chief articles were the close-fitting hose,

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the doublet, and a long cloak or gown over all. A flat blue bonnet was the common Scots headwear, but the bonnet might also be of scarlet, or its place might be taken by a beaver hat with gold buttons and feathers. It was fashionable to have the hose of different colours—crimson on one leg, black on the other, or red with green. Women were dressed in a long kirtle, a velvet 'stomacher,' and a richly lined cloak. The head-dress was high, with two 'horns' from which hung a kerchief or veil. The poorer women covered head and kirtle with a long plaid. Expensive materials were too common, and many laws were passed to restrict the use of rich silks and furs to the wealthier class. The Scots, it was said, 'spend all they have to keep up appearances'; also, that they were vain, boasted high birth, were not industrious, given to war, but brave and strong. The Highlanders had, of course, a dress of their own, a 'loose plaid and a shirt saffron (yellow)-dyed,' and went uncovered 'from the mid-leg to the foot.' In war the Scots donned a padded woollen tunic or 'jack,' with a 'knapsack' or steel bonnet. Knights were now encased in armour of jointed plates. The Highlanders had their quilted coats, daubed with wax or pitch, or a garment of deerskin. The chiefs could afford only the old 'hauberk,' or long coat of steel rings. Every man, burgess or peasant, had to be ready to take the field with his own weapons and food-supply for a period which rarely went beyond three weeks or a month. But gunpowder was bringing about a change in the whole art of war, and the knight in armour was losing his warlike importance.

7. *Holidays and Amusements.* — Sundays and saints' days were holidays, but the chief ones were Yule—Christmas and New Year—and Easter. The great amusements were the plays or the processions showing religious or historical characters. The plays were usually on religious subjects. The favourite show, however, was that of Robin Hood and Little John, on May Day. It led to so much riot and drunkenness that efforts were made from time to time to put it down.

8. *Scottish Literature.*—The fifteenth century is a brilliant period in the history of Scottish literature, and especially the reign of James IV. Many poets had arisen since the days of the poet-King James I. Of these the most important were Robert Henryson of Dunfermline, who wrote fables in verse; Walter Kennedy of Carrick; and, above all, William Dunbar, who had a pension at the Court of James IV. He is the greatest Scottish poet before Burns. Gavin Douglas, son of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, made the first translation in 'English' of the Latin poem the 'Æneid.' Sir David Lyndsay, who comes next to Dunbar, takes us into the next century. So do Hector Boece and John Major, who were scholars and historians. They show in Scotland the effect of the new spirit which was awakening in the literature and politics of Europe. The old feudalism was weakening when John Major could write that 'the free people first gives power to the King,' and that 'the people can expel a King and his house for their misdeeds.' Such teaching was soon to bring the people of Scotland into direct conflict with their royal house, and actually to end

in the 'auld Stewarts' being driven from the throne. It was taken up and applied by the leaders of the Reformation, when at last that movement spread from the Continent and England into Scotland.

CHAPTER XIX

JAMES V (1513-1542)

1. *A Troubled Minority.*—The disaster of Flodden plunged Scotland once again into the stormy waters of a minority. The old, unhappy tale repeated itself. An infant Prince was crowned at Stirling as James V. The noble houses squabbled fiercely over the distribution of the benefices in the Church, vacant through the losses among Bishops and Abbots in the battle. Such appointments in Scotland were kept in the hands of the King, and usually fell to younger members of the leading families. Within a year, too, Queen Margaret took as her second husband the young Earl of Angus. This step led to fresh jealousies. The opponents of Angus brought over from France the Duke of Albany, son of the traitor brother of James III. In all but name—in speech, manners, and tastes—he was a Frenchman. But he was gratefully received in a distracted country and appointed Regent and Governor of the King. He soothed the nobles by a fair division of the benefices. At the same time he showed himself both able and ready to put down any resistance to his rule. But his coming gave deep offence in another quarter.

Henry VIII considered that he had a good right to interfere in Scotland on behalf of his nephew. It was just possible, too, that James might yet be his heir. The friendship of Scotland was all-important to him in his foreign politics, and to secure control over the kingdom he would stick at nothing. He had his spies at the Court. He sent presents to his sister and to the young King. Many of the Scottish nobles were in his pay—Arran, head of the Hamiltons and grandson of James II, Angus, Lennox, and others. They readily took bribes, for, as an English agent wrote, with the exception of

COIN: DUCAT OR 'BONNET-PIECE' OF JAMES V.

The earliest dated Scottish coin: made of native gold.

the Earl of Arran, 'they are all poor and of little substance in goods.' When such measures failed, Henry's way was to send a force to ravage the Borders. There was to be no peace for Scotland so long as Albany and his Frenchmen were in it. For Albany's aim was to maintain the alliance with France as a weapon against England.

2. '*Cleanse the Causeway*' (1520).—The Regent, having established order, hastened back to France on a holiday, which lasted four years. He had caused the execution of the doubtful Earl of Home and his brother, supporters of the English party.

The Earl's post of Warden of the East March he had given to a French lord, De la Bastie. This was a double outrage on the Homes. As soon as the Duke was gone they laid a trap for his friend. De la Bastie was caught and murdered, and Sir David Home rode off with the head of the Warden knitted by its golden locks to his horse's mane. For this another member of the family went to the scaffold. The Douglases and Hamiltons now had the field to themselves. The Hamiltons provoked a quarrel on the High Street of Edinburgh, and the Douglases 'cleansed the causeway' of their rivals by driving them into the closes, and thence out of the town. This was a triumph for the faction of England. But Margaret quarrelled with her husband, and worked against him and her brother. Albany came back to Scotland. Angus withdrew to France. Henry was furious.

3. *'Erection' of the King.*—Albany would now have invaded England in the interests of France, but Lord Dacre, the English Warden, so managed the Scots lords as to stop the advance at Annan and bring about a truce. On this failure the Duke again retired to France. But as the Scots would not yet fall in with Henry's plans, the Duke of Norfolk, son of the victor of Flodden, was sent to ravage the East March. He came to be known as 'the scourge of the Scots.' On the first occasion he left 'neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, nor other succour for man.' Then, when he returned in the autumn he burnt Jedburgh, abbey and town, but had to retreat for lack of food. Albany was now back, with French and German soldiers, and

led a great army to the Border. But again the Scots would not pass beyond their own country. Disgusted, the Regent abandoned the stubborn kingdom, never to return. The English party, acting on the advice of Wolsey, Henry's chief Minister, now carried through an 'erection' of the King, giving him all the powers of his office at twelve years of age. This was opposed by Archbishop Beaton, on behalf of France, and thereupon Henry laid a scheme to kidnap him. But Beaton lay close in his strong 'sea-tower' at St. Andrews.

4. *The Douglases in Power.*—The result of the new arrangement was to bring the King under the domination of the Douglases. He became their prisoner, and in his name they filled posts in Church and State with their friends. Angus himself was bold, but of no great ability. The brains of the family were in his brother Sir George. Once more Scotland was at the feet of this unscrupulous family. They were strengthened by bands with many lords, especially on the Border. 'None durst strive with a Douglas, nor yet with a Douglas's man.' Twice an attempt was made to free the King from their custody, but each time it failed. Sir George Douglas told James he would rather see him torn to pieces among them than lose him. The royal boy learned to detest the very name of Douglas. In this he was encouraged by his mother, who had divorced Angus and married again. At the end of two years James managed to slip out of Edinburgh Castle and rode to Stirling. The Douglases were forfeited and banished from the Court, but Angus, in his stronghold of Tantallon,

for a time defied the King. But this could not go on, and the Douglases soon took their place as disinherited pensioners at the English Court.

5. *James and the Highlands.*—Among the supporters of the Douglases had been Sir Alexander Macdonald of Islay. Provoked by his treatment at the hands of the royal Lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll, he raised his people in arms. He was joined by the Macleans. But when a powerful force was got ready to deal with the rising, Macdonald and Hector Maclean came to Stirling and submitted. This did not suit the new Earl who succeeded his father as Lieutenant in the West, or the Earl of Moray, who was Lieutenant in the North. They wished the King to act through them, so that they might extend their power and their possessions in the Isles. Argyll made serious charges against Macdonald. But that chief was able to show the King that they were false, and that Argyll, in his own interest, was trying to stir up fresh trouble in the West. The Earl was thereupon deprived of his office and sent to prison. In the north, Donald Gorme, chief of the Skye Macdonalds, made a bid for the lost Lordship and the Earldom of Ross. He died of a wound received in besieging a castle of the Mackenzies, and the rising collapsed. James then visited the northern parts of his kingdom and the islands with an imposing fleet (1540). He brought back with him the most restless chiefs, some of whom were sent to prison. He followed the wise course of his father in dealing directly with the chiefs. By his fairness and firmness he won their confidence. The grasping

royal Lieutenants they could not trust. James even had a Highland costume made for himself, hose or trews and jacket of tartan, and a yellow tunic. But if he had gained with the Highlanders, he had lost the good-will of both his Lieutenants, the Earls of Argyil and Moray.

6. *James Suppresses the Armstrongs.*—On the Borders the English raids had made the condition of things worse than ever. James, however, was determined to do his share in preserving order. As the great Border lords, Bothwell, Maxwell, Scott of Buccleuch and the rest, 'winked at the villanies' of the dalesmen, they were all committed to ward. James then proceeded to deal with the disorderly districts in person. Chief among the offenders were the Armstrongs of the 'Debatable Land,' neither England nor Scotland, which lay between the Esk and the Sark. 'Johnnie Armstrong' boasted himself careless of both James and Henry, and robbed in Scotland and England alike. Summoned with other chiefs to appear before the King, he rode into his camp with a handsome following. 'What wants yon knave that a King should have?' burst out the passionate monarch. Armstrong begged for grace 'from a graceless face,' and he and thirty-one of his rieving clan were hanged on trees at Carlanrig Chapel, on the road to Langholm. This sharp lesson and the punishment of other prominent men frightened the dalesmen into peace. But the imprisoned lords had been mortally offended. The Earl of Bothwell in his anger offered to Henry VIII, with the help of the other discontented 'noble hearts'—Angus, Argyll,

Crawford, Moray, and Lord Maxwell—'to crown your grace in the town of Edinburgh within brief time.'

7. *James's Marriage.*—The chief question of State was now the marriage of the King. The Courts of Europe were searched for a suitable bride. Henry VIII had repeatedly offered a marriage with his daughter Mary. But Henry himself, by his bullying conduct, had put such a match out of the question. James preferred the sickly daughter of the King of France, and asked Henry's permission to bring his bride home through England. Henry refused on the lofty ground that 'no Scottish King had ever entered England peacefully except as a vassal.' He was, indeed, working up the old claim of overlordship. But the young Queen lived only a few months. A year later James married the lady who was to play a leading part in later history—Mary of Lorraine, a member of the princely French family of Guise (1538).

8. *Protestantism in Scotland.*—As the House of Guise was strongly Catholic, James by this marriage seemed to have taken his side in the great struggle now going on between the Church and the Reformers. In Germany Martin Luther had led a revolt from the rule of Rome, and his example was being followed in other countries. The one Church of Western Christendom was breaking up. The writings of the German reformers, and especially an English translation of the New Testament, were being smuggled into Scotland through all the ports, and eagerly read. This indicates a good deal of education in the country. Parliament, of course, tried to keep out and suppress such literature,

JAMES V. AND MARY OF GUISE, FATHER AND MOTHER OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

From a picture in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwicke.

but to little effect. The minds of the middle class in town and country were being powerfully influenced by the new teaching. In 1528 suffered the first martyr of Scottish birth, Patrick Hamilton, a man of good family. He had been to Germany, and returned to Scotland to attack the corruptions of the Church, and 'to show the errors crept into the Christian religion.' He soon had a great following, so that the clergy became alarmed. He was arrested and condemned as a heretic, and suffered a lingering and painful death by burning at St. Andrews. When David Beaton succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of St. Andrews, persecution became more active. Five men were burned in one year. The victims included both clergy and laymen. Many friars became heretics. Others began by resisting the heavy payments they were forced to make to the Church. Not a few Scottish Protestants escaped to England, where Henry had broken with the Pope, and English Catholics in turn fled from Henry's burnings to Scotland. Among the Acts passed by the Estates in 1541 to check the new movement were one forbidding the holding of 'conventicles' to discuss the Scriptures, and another threatening with death and loss of goods any who spoke against the authority of the Pope. Still James did something towards reform by trying to restrain the greed of the clergy. But much more was needed. The Scottish Church was filled mainly with worldly, ignorant, and vicious men. There were exceptions, but these, again, admitted the need of reform. A revolting picture of the condition of things is given by Sir David

Lyndsay in his play, *A Satire of the Three Estates*, which was acted before the King and his Court. There we see the wealthy and careless Bishop, the Abbot living in luxury, the Parson devoting himself to amusement, the Vicar robbing the poor with heavy charges, the idle Friar, and the Pardoner with his sham relics selling sham pardons. These things were notorious, but James's principle was, 'The good may be suffered, and the evil must be reformed.' Only he would not abandon the beliefs of his fathers. It then seemed, even to many excellent men, a most wicked thing to divide the Christian Church. James himself, too, was not a well-educated man, and being at odds with his barons, he had to rely upon the great Churchmen for support and advice.

9. *Rout of Solway Moss and Death of the King* (1542).—Meantime Henry VIII had renounced the authority of the Pope, made himself head of the Church in England, and seized the property of the monasteries, which he closed. On this account he feared an attack from the Catholic Powers of Europe. Thus, he was more than ever anxious to secure the friendship of Scotland. If James would but follow his example, all would be well on that side. He represented to the Scottish King the errors and vices of the Church, and suggested that he could make money in a more kingly way than selling wool by helping himself to some of its vast wealth. He invited James to come and meet him and talk things over. But Henry, with good reason, was thoroughly distrusted in Scotland. Beaton and the clergy used all their influence to keep James from going to

England. A meeting was, nevertheless, arranged to take place at York, but James did not turn up. Henry then put forward the old claim of overlordship as an excuse for war. He even proposed to his Council a plan to kidnap the Scottish King, which his wiser advisers would not accept. An English force, including the Douglases, crossed the Border, but was beaten by the Earl of Huntly at Haddon Rig. James himself led an army as far as Fala Moor, but when it was learned that the English had retreated, his lords would go no further. Later in the year another army was mustered, and entered England on the west. While James himself stopped at Annan, Cumberland was overrun. But a compact English column of horse and spearmen pressed back the raiders in confusion. At the ford of the Esk, beyond which was the Solway Moss, they charged the leaderless and disordered Scots. A few were slain, more drowned, and 1,200, including many nobles, taken prisoners. The news crushed the spirit of the proud, high-strung King. He had other sorrows : his two sons, his only children, had died. Possibly some illness had kept him behind his army. He retired to Falkland Palace, his favourite residence, a dying man. There news was brought to him of the birth of a daughter. It seemed to him to leave him the last of the royal Stewarts. 'It cam with ane lass,* and it will pass with ane lass,' was his sorrowing remark. Three weeks after the rout of Solway Moss the heartbroken King was dead. Like his father, he had been a

* Marjory Bruce, who had married Walter, the High Steward (see Chapter XII, § 6).

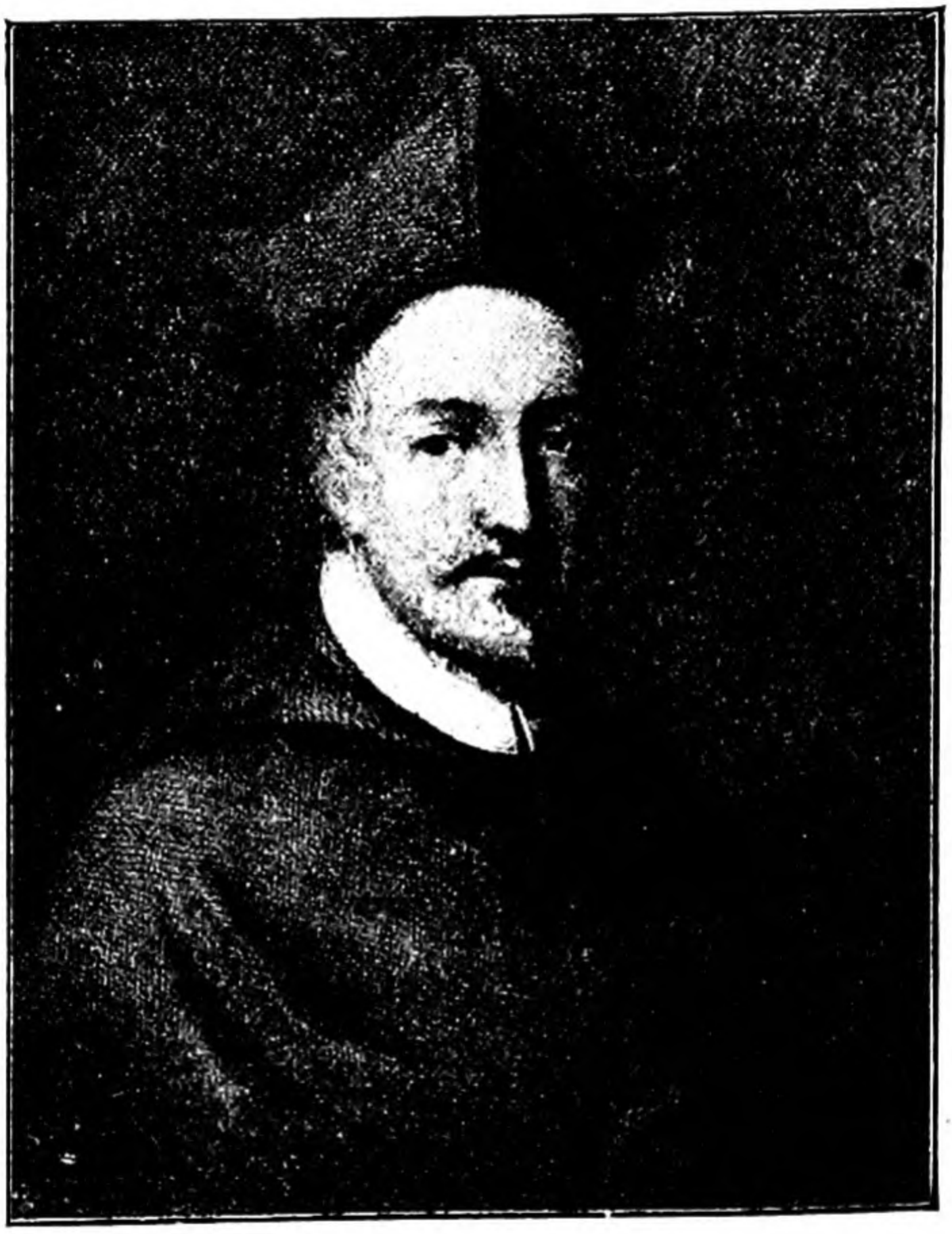
'King of the Commons.' He, too, went out among the people in disguise. But his nobles were untrustworthy and unfriendly. The prelates were utterly selfish. France and England both would have used Scotland as a tool to further their own ambitions. And James, with the best intentions, was unable to hold his own against such forces.

CHAPTER XX

QUEEN MARY—PART I (1542-1558)

1. *Henry VIII and the 'Assured Scots.'*—The unexpected death of the King, and the succession of a child Queen, gave Henry VIII an opening of which he was quick to make use. The Douglases were hurried back to Scotland. With them went the noble prisoners of Solway Moss, the Earls Marischal, Glencairn, Cassilis, Lord Maxwell, and others. All were under pledge to do their utmost to serve the King, who in addition made them presents of money. Henry's desire was that 'the child,' Cardinal Beaton his enemy, and the principal fortresses should be placed in his hands. Mary he proposed to marry to his son Edward, afterwards Edward VI, but Henry's real purpose was to make good the claim to overlordship. Meantime the Earl of Arran, third Lord Hamilton, as heir to the throne, was appointed Regent. Beaton had done his best to keep him out of this office, and so he was led to associate himself with Henry's 'assured Scots,' or 'the English lords,' as they were called.

The Cardinal was seized and confined. A Parliament met which restored the Douglases to their estates and honours, and permitted the reading of the English Bible, while it forbad 'disputes' about



CARDINAL BEATON (1494–1546).

From a portrait in Blair's College, Aberdeen.

its contents. Ambassadors were appointed to treat for the English marriage. But Mary was not to be sent to England till she was ten years of age, and Scotland was to remain a separate kingdom. These conditions were not to Henry's liking. He secretly

urged on his supporters that they should carry out the first arrangement. But this it was impossible for them to do. The English Ambassador wrote of the 'assured Scots' that, willing as they might be to let Henry have 'the superiority of the realm, yet there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that is of the same mind, or that would take their parts in their behalf.' Henry had therefore to be content with the *Treaty of Greenwich*, which provided for the marriage on the above conditions (1543).

2. *The 'Revolt' of Arran.*—But the proposed marriage was not popular. To the Scots it meant an English King. To the clergy it meant Protestantism. The 'English lords' found that feeling was running strong against them, and began to waver. Church services ceased throughout the country till Beaton was allowed to go free. Backing Beaton were the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Moray, and Bothwell. French gold poured in to counteract Henry's bribery. The Earl of Lennox, an able soldier, arrived in Scotland from France. He, too, was a grandson of James III's sister, and Beaton secured his support by a promise of the Regency. The weak and unstable Arran was being influenced by his brother, the Abbot of Paisley. He confirmed the Treaty of Greenwich, which was ratified also by the Estates, though not by Henry. Then Arran 'revolted.' He joined the Cardinal, and did penance for his Protestantism. The impatient Henry seized some Scottish merchant-ships, and the Estates took this as excuse for renouncing the treaty. They renewed the alliance with France, again at war with England. Beaton was made

Chancellor, and strict laws were passed against heresy. The French alliance and the old faith were still identified with national independence. England and Protestantism, by Henry's double dealing, had come to signify subjection. Angus Lennox, Glencairn, and Cassilis rose in arms, but found themselves powerless in face of their triumphant opponents. Lennox, disappointed of the Regency, married a daughter of Angus, Henry's niece, and became the most active agent on the English side.

3. *Punishment of Heretics—Hertford's Raids.*—During Arran's brief term of Protestantism there had been attacks on the religious houses in Dundee and Edinburgh. Beaton now went to Perth, where four men were hanged for discussing the Scriptures, and a woman was drowned for refusing to pray to the Virgin when in pain. In the spring of the same year, 1544, an English fleet landed at Leith a force under the Earl of Hertford, which sacked that place and made 'a jolly fire' of Edinburgh. 'Woe worth (be to) the Cardinal!' cried 'the women and poor miserable creatures of the town.' The country was laid waste for miles around, and the invaders marched homewards, slaying and burning at large. At the same time another fleet on the West, under the Earl of Lennox, harried the islands and coast of the Firth of Clyde. In the Isles Donald Dubh, son of Angus and grandson of the last Lord of the Isles, was at last free after his life-long imprisonment of nearly sixty years (see Chapter XVII, § 4). He with the island chiefs took Henry's side, received his money,

and swore allegiance to him as directed by Lennox. Similarly, the incessant raids on the Border had led the men of Teviotdale to don the red cross of St. George. But the Douglases, threatened with forfeiture for treason, had now to take their part in the defence of the country. Angus, made Lieutenant of the Border, joined with Arran and Scott of Buccleuch to inflict a severe defeat on the English at *Ancrum Moor* (1545). Among the slain was the English leader, the Warden, Sir Ralph Eure, 'a fell cruel man and over cruel.' Succour arrived from France, where Henry VIII was again making a vain effort at conquest. A combined march on England, however, came to nothing, for the Douglases, 'falsely true,' succeeded in having the army withdrawn. In the autumn, when the standing corn was just ripe, Hertford once more let loose the furies of a Border war. A host of hirelings of all nations—Irish, French, Germans, Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks—were the fitting tools of Henry's savage policy. The beautiful abbeys of Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, and Roxburgh were wrecked. Lord Maxwell placed the strongest castles of the West March in English hands. But the Islesmen quarrelled over the dividing of Henry's money. Donald Dubh died of a fever in Ireland, and the rebellion dissolved. Lennox and Glencairn failed in their attempts to get possession of Dumbarton Castle, 'the fetters of Scotland.' The Border strongholds were recovered. Hertford's rough 'wooing' had not broken the spirit of the Scots. Beaton was still master of the situation, though his cruel persecu-

tions and the sore losses from the English raids had much weakened his popularity.

4. *Martyrdom of Wishart—Murder of the Cardinal* (1546).—The Cardinal had saved the kingdom from the hands of Henry, but in his other great concern he was less successful. Heretics, the Estates complained, 'mair and mair rises and spreads within this realm.' Of these the most prominent was George Wishart, who now preached in Ayrshire and the towns of the East. In Lothian he made a disciple of a priest-notary acting as tutor to the sons of a country gentleman. His name was John Knox, then thirty years old—a short, dark-complexioned, stern-looking man.* He steps into history bearing a two-handed sword, 'which commonly was carried with the same Master George.' Wishart was arrested by the Earl of Bothwell, and handed over to the Cardinal to be tried for heresy. His fate was to be hanged on a gibbet in front of the Castle of St. Andrews, and burnt to powder. Three months later the 'careful Cardinal' had followed his victim. Various proposals had been made to Henry VIII for his assassination, and only the terms could not be agreed upon. But on a May morning a band of conspirators led by Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, and William Kirkcaldy of Grange, both personal enemies of Beaton, slipped into the castle. They found the Cardinal in his chamber. Some in their hate buffeted him, but James Melven, a friend of the martyred Wishart, put the rest aside, and struck

* There can now, I think, be no doubt that Knox was born in 1513 or 1515, and not in 1505.

him through twice or thrice with his sword, first declaring that he had no personal feeling against

GEORGE WISHART, JOHN KNOX'S SPIRITUAL TEACHER (1513(?)–1546).

him, but was there to punish him as a persecutor and obstinate enemy to religion. The Cardinal

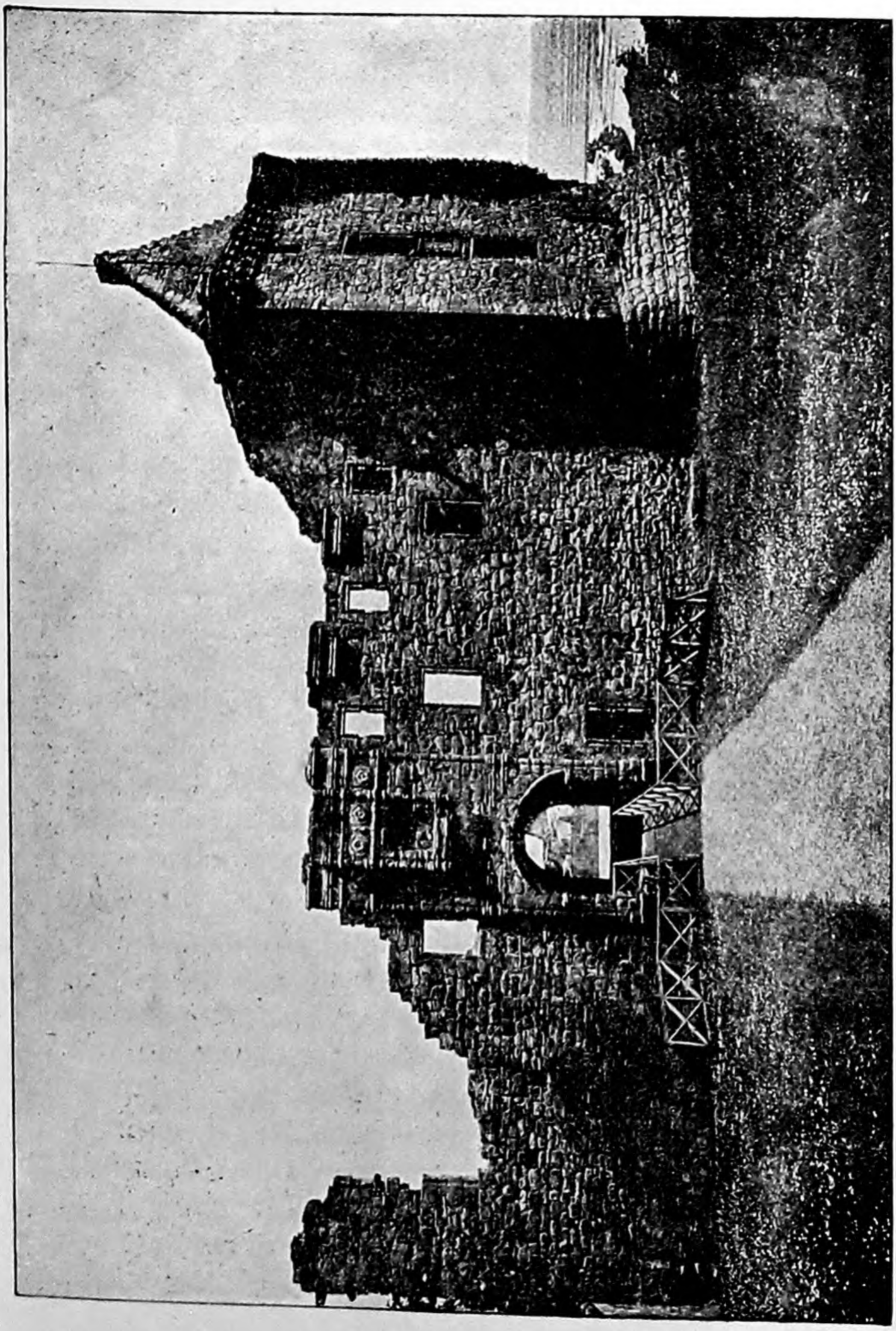
was a proud prelate. He was over-rich. His household was such 'as was never holden in Scotland under a King.' But he was not a learned man or a pious, and what he cared for in the Church was its wealth and its power. He was unyielding and cruel towards those who sought its reform. Alliance with England he would not have had on any terms, because he was a favoured friend of France and a prince of 'Holy Kirk'; and England was the enemy of both. He had baffled the unscrupulous scheming of Henry VIII, but there his service to his country ended. Yet, as a contemporary verse puts it,

'Although the loon was well away,
The deed was foully done.'

The conspirators and their friends held the strong castle for more than a year. The Governor was unable to take it. But they were forced to yield when plague broke out in the garrison and French artillery battered its walls. Among the captives was John Knox, who as a sought-after heretic had taken refuge with the 'Castilians.' He was now an elected Protestant preacher. The defenders were conveyed to France, where the noble members were imprisoned, while the others, including Knox, were sent to row with the slaves in galleys. In less than two years all had either escaped or been set free. Abbot Hamilton was now Archbishop of St. Andrews.

5. *The 'Black Saturday' at Pinkie Cleuch** (*September* 9, 1547).—Early in the next year died Henry VIII. The 'assured lords,' among whom was now the Earl of Bothwell, were again offering

* A cleuch is a steep, narrow ravine.



CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS.

assistance to the English Government. Hertford, created Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England, continued his late master's policy. Scotland was to be chastised into union. In the autumn he, for the last time, invaded the country by the coast road to Edinburgh. The Scots blocked his advance at the water of Esk. Arran, Angus, and Huntly had sunk their differences to meet the common enemy. But the Scots, three times the number of the English, rashly crossed the Esk to cut off Somerset from his fleet in the Forth. The result was to place them between the fire from the ships and from the English guns on the hill to their right. The spearmen of Angus stood 'as even as a wall,' but the Highlanders shrank before the unaccustomed roar of the cannon. Batteries and bowmen played on the Scottish masses, and repeated cavalry charges broke them up. The 'red earth,' rising in clouds from the battle-field 'so great that never ane of them might see ane other,' completed the confusion. The Scots scattered over the country-side, and the slaughter ran to many thousands. The English followed up the victory by seizing several strong positions, including Broughty Castle on the Firth of Tay, and, later, Haddington, the most important position between Edinburgh and the Border. In the south-west, Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbright were already in their occupation. But there was no giving in. The little Queen was hurried off to an island priory in the Lake of Menteith until the danger passed. France was appealed to for help. It was readily given on condition that Mary should be sent to that country

with a view to marrying the Dauphin, the heir to the French throne. This proposal was accepted, and in the summer after Pinkie she sailed from Dumbarton to France. 'France and Scotland are now one country,' said the French King, Henry II, when her arrival was announced. As had always been the case, English violence and impatience had brought the two countries more closely together. The Scots with their French allies succeeded in recovering the lost ground. But it was a bitter struggle. Somerset gave no quarter to the Scots on the ground that they were mere rebels to their 'superior and sovereign lord,' Edward VI. The Scots bought English captives from the French for the pleasure of hacking them to pieces. As usual, however, the French roused the popular hatred by helping themselves to what they required without payment or leave. The Scots were glad to see the last of them as well as of the English. In 1550 the *Treaty of Norham* settled peace between the three countries.

6. *Mary of Guise becomes Regent.*—The government of France was now practically in the hands of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the Queen-mother. The Queen of Scots was their niece and under their tuition. It was intended that their sister Mary should be in Scotland what they were in France. In this way Scotland would be made a part of France, and preserved to the Catholic faith. Arran had been flattered by the gift of the Duchy of Châtelherault, and his son was appointed Captain of the Scottish Guard of the French King. The Scottish Protestant

nobles were won over by Mary's unwillingness to persecute, and her opposition to Archbishop Hamilton. Arran was quietly displaced, and the Queen-mother secured the Regency. It was an unheard-of thing for a woman to fill such an office in Scotland. She now neglected the native nobles and surrounded herself with Frenchmen, to some of whom she gave high positions. Her principal adviser was the French Ambassador D'Oysel. As the Earl of Huntly had involved himself in trouble in the North, and failed to keep order there, he was deprived of the Earldoms of Mar and Moray, and his duties as Chancellor were performed by a Frenchman. Dunbar Castle was filled with a French garrison under a French Governor. Vacant Church benefices were given to Frenchmen. But when the Regent proposed that a standing army should be raised and maintained by a tax, the Scottish nobles revolted. It was their business, they declared, to provide for the defence of the country, since 'the King has been called at all times King of Scots—that is, rather in respect of men, not of money and substance of the country.' Further, when she urged upon them to reopen the war with England in order to aid France against Spain, whose King, Philip II, was husband of the Catholic Mary of England, they flatly refused. The Regent had now made herself exceedingly unpopular, and tongues were busy in free-spoken Scotland denouncing her and her Frenchmen and the new danger to the national independence.

7. *The Marriage of Queen Mary* (1558).—In these circumstances the marriage of the Queen of Scots

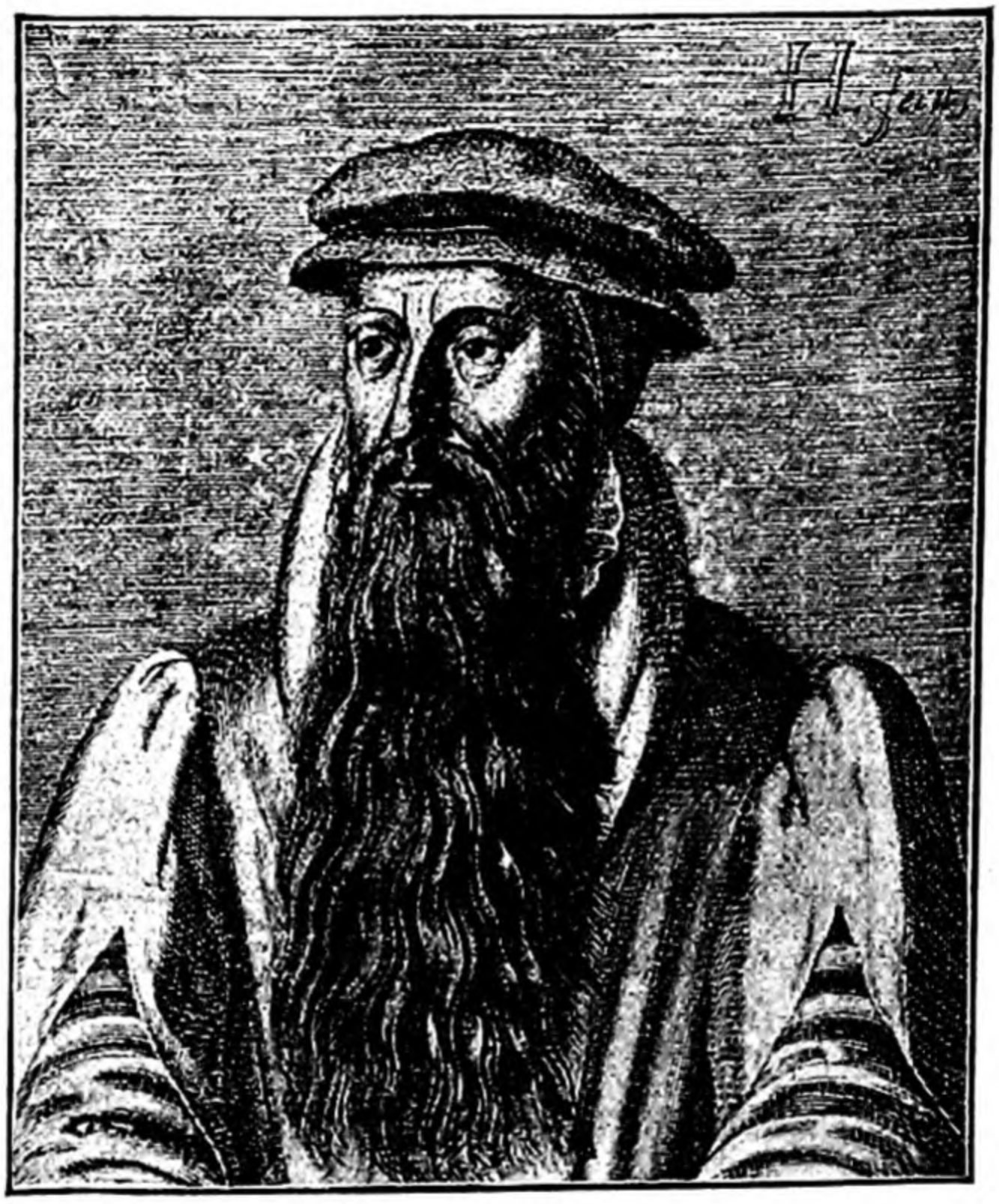
with the Dauphin was completed (April 18, 1558). The Scottish Commissioners made it a condition that, should there be no children, the Crown of Scotland should pass to the next of line, the Hamiltons. But though this condition was accepted, Mary had already made a secret agreement with the French King of a different character. In spite of any other understanding, should Mary die childless, her Kingdom of Scotland and her rights in that of England were to pass to the family of her husband. Towards the end of the same year Mary of England died, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. England was once again under a Protestant monarch. What part Scotland was to take in the religious conflict and, as a consequence, in her foreign relations, now became the question of the hour. France and Spain were untiring rivals for supremacy in Europe, and the possession of Scotland and England by either was certain to decide the struggle. And Mary was not only heiress to Elizabeth, but in the eyes of strict Catholics the rightful Queen of England.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REFORMATION: QUEEN MARY—PART II (1558-1560)

1. *The Catholic Church in Scotland.*—Scotland was divided ecclesiastically into thirteen Bishoprics, two of which were Archbishoprics, all possessing wide estates and other property. There were besides many religious houses of monks, friars, or

nuns, as well as charitable institutions for the aged and infirm, and all these, too, were richly endowed. Half the total wealth of Scotland was in the hands of the Church. Bishops and certain abbots sat in Parliament, where they formed the 'spiritual estate.'



JOHN KNOX (1515–1572).

From the portrait by Hondius in 'Praestantium aliquot Theologorum Effigies quibus addita Elogia,' by Jacobus Verheiden (The Hague, 1602).

Many prelates had held high office in the realm. They supplied the President and half the judges of the Court of Session. There were 'fighting bishops' too, and bishops and abbots had fallen with James IV at Flodden. Thus in wealth, in style, and in power there was little to distinguish

them from the nobles. 'Lords of religion, they go like seculars.' To their purely ecclesiastical duties they gave little heed. Preaching they left to the more devout friars. The Bishoprics were further divided into parishes, which, as a rule, were too large, but so provided rich livings. In the country parishes people had ceased to attend churches which were often miles away, and in which they heard only Latin chants and prayers which they did not understand. The buildings were being allowed to go to ruin. The parish priests were generally ignorant and untaught men: 'The curate his creed he could not read.' But they were hard in enforcing payment of their teind, or the tenth part of all produce. Presents which it had been the custom to give at Easter or on occasion of death they seized as a right. For each who died, however poor, they took the 'Kirk cow,' with 'the grey cloak that haps the bed.' This was a sore grievance which James V had tried to end. And disputes over such matters, or concerning a marriage or a will, had to be taken to the Church courts, which were corrupt, expensive, and given to long delays. Moreover, men were appointed to Church livings who were not clergy at all. They employed others to do the work cheaply for them while they drew the rents. Lord James Stewart, half-brother of Queen Mary, who became the chief instrument of the Reformation, was Prior of St. Andrews and of Pittenweem, and yet not in Holy Orders. James IV gave such positions freely to his 'familiars.' James V did the same, choosing members of the lesser noble

families in order to balance the power of the great houses. Benefices were conferred even on children: Archbishop Hamilton had become Abbot of Paisley at the age of twelve. More than one might be held at once: Archbishop Beaton, uncle of the famous Cardinal, had also been abbot of three monasteries. They might even go to foreigners—the Regent gave her brother Cardinal Lorraine the Abbeys of Kelso and Melrose. Even hospitals and charities were used up in this way. The poor and the helpless saw what was theirs stolen from them. The Pope, too, in distant Rome, had his share of the Scottish revenues. As Head of the Church he could make his power felt in Scotland, though the Kings usually resented such interference. Thus the clergy, as a whole, lived idle, easy lives, while many of them from the highest to the lowest were notorious for their vices.

2. *Attempts at Reform within the Church.*—There were, of course, good men in the Church who saw the need for thorough reform of such abuses. Many of the Kings, too, beginning with James I, had tried to force the clergy to amend their lives. In spite of all such efforts the condition of things had only grown worse. Now, in face of the growth of Protestant opinion, and of what had taken place in Germany and England, fresh attempts at reform were made. Church Councils bade the clergy lead better lives, attend to their duties, preach regularly, and instruct themselves and their people in the Catholic faith. Archbishop Hamilton, unlike Beaton, did his best to improve matters. It all came too late. Many of the clergy resented such 'sharp statutes,' and

refused to obey them. Moreover, the Protestants were not to be satisfied with a mere reform of conduct. They demanded a reform of Church doctrine, and this the governing clergy would not grant.

3. *Spread of Protestantism.*—Thus what began as a movement for reform ended in revolt. Protestants refused to accept the Pope as head of the Church, or the traditions and customs of the Church as what they should believe. They would be bound only by the Bible. They declared the service of the Mass and prayers to saints represented by images, to be idolatry. They wished to have the services in their own tongue, with more preaching and less ceremony. Protestant writings, but especially the English Bible, were widely read. Plays and songs were made denouncing the Churchmen and their teaching, and these helped greatly in affecting popular feeling. Parliament passed an Act to suppress the printing of such 'ballads, songs, blasphemous rhymes.' Meantime the poor Scottish nobles, who had been ready to take wages from England or France, looked with envious eyes on the broad acres of the prelates. They knew how their fellows in England had enriched themselves from the confiscated wealth of the Church. And Protestant England was no longer the national enemy ; it was Catholic France. Thus the cause of the Reformers was fast winning recruits, while the Regent, needing their support, for the time held her hand. John Knox had, since his release from the galleys, acted as a Protestant preacher in England. Thence he went to be minister to an English con-

gregation in Geneva, where John Calvin, a French Protestant. was absolute ruler of the city. When Knox visited Scotland during the winter of 1555-1556 he found that great progress had been made. He preached in various parts of the country, defied the bishops, and went back to Geneva. Other Scotsmen returned to their own country to carry on the work. Chief of these were John Willock, who had been a friar, and William Harlaw, an Edinburgh tailor, both of whom had lived and preached for a time in England.

4. *The Lords of the Congregation.*—Towards the close of 1557 a definite step was taken on the old Scottish lines. The leading Protestant nobles, such as the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, son of that 'fox' Sir George Douglas, and others formed a 'band,' which, being for a religious purpose, was called a *Covenant.* All who signed bound themselves to work for the overthrow of the Catholic Church and the setting up of Protestantism. From their description of themselves as a 'Congregation' they came to be known as the 'Lords of the Congregation,' or Protestant party. These now in their own districts insisted upon the English Prayer Book being read in the churches, and held private meetings for the reading and explaining of the Scriptures. The Archbishop, pressed by the Regent, arrested an unprotected old heretic priest named Walter Myln, and had him burnt at St. Andrews. He was the last martyr in Scotland, and, as in the case of the others, the foolishly cruel deed only sharpened popular feeling against the persecutors. The preachers became more active and open in their

work. The 'face of a Church' on the new lines showed itself in Scotland. The great Protestant centre was Dundee. Leading preachers were summoned for trial, but they either disregarded the summons or were attended by such powerful supporters that proceedings against them were given up. Tumults occurred; images were stolen away and destroyed. The image of St. Giles in Edinburgh was burned. A smaller one, 'young St. Giles,' was procured for the saint's annual procession through the city. A riot occurred, and the 'idol' was destroyed by 'dadding his head to the calsey.'* The lords appealed to the Regent for reforms, who replied as usual that she would 'put good order' in the matters complained of. Her chief concern for the present was not to displease them. She was about to request the Estates to declare Mary's husband, the Dauphin, King of Scotland. To this the Hamiltons, including the Archbishop, who led the prelates, were opposed. If she offended the Protestant lords she would fail in her purpose. She therefore kept on good terms with them, and so secured for the Dauphin the 'crown matrimonial,' though only 'during the marriage.'

5. *The Regent and the Preachers.*—But the final struggle could not be delayed much longer. On the first day of January, 1559, there was found posted up on the gates of all religious houses a remarkable document known as 'The Beggar's Summons.' In it 'the blind, crooked, lame, widows, orphans,

* *I.e.*, 'causeway,' the High Street paved with round stones.

and all other poor,' called upon the 'flocks of friars' to remove out of the hospitals they had 'stolen,' and threatened that if they did not do so by a certain date they would be ejected. The country had been suffering from a dearth of food, and this, of course, chiefly affected the poor. But what followed was a proclamation by the Regent that none should interfere with Church services, or strike or threaten priests, or eat flesh during Lent under pain of death. The preachers were also summoned to trial before her at Stirling on May 10. Before that date they, with a great gathering of sympathizers, assembled at Perth. There they were joined by John Knox, who had finally returned, to take a memorable share in the coming conflict. On the day appointed the preachers did not appear, and were outlawed. Therefore Knox preached a sermon in which he was 'vehement against idolatry.' The excited populace broke into riot. The Church of St. John was stripped of its images and other furniture. The rich monasteries were attacked and pillaged, and in a few days nothing of them was left but the bare walls.

6. *The War of the Congregation.*—The appeal now was to arms. Argyll and Lord James took their place as leaders of the Congregation. What had happened at Perth was repeated at St. Andrews, and up and down the country. The churches were 'cleansed.' The monastic houses were specially disliked, and eagerly plundered. 'Every man, for the most part, that could get anything pertaining to any kirkman thought the same as well-won gear.' Meantime the Regent with her French

troops made head against the rising from the castle of Dunbar. The troops of the Congregation twice occupied Edinburgh, but each time had to retire. The 'country fellows' were of little good against the disciplined French. The hired men mutinied because there was no money to pay them. The Regent denounced the Congregation as rebels; they deposed her from office for misrule. She sent to France for reinforcements; they appealed for help to England. The Lords had now been joined by Chatelherault the heir-apparent, and his son Arran; by Huntly; by Kirkcaldy of Grange, an able soldier; and by the clever politician, William Maitland, younger, of Lethington, who had been the Queen-Regent's Secretary of State. What had begun as a war of religion had now become a struggle against French mastery. Still the people generally held aloof. The Regent could get but few Scots to take service with her. For the Congregation they 'had no will to hazard' anything. Fresh troops arrived from France, more were to come, and unless England sent substantial aid the cause, it seemed, was lost, and the French were again triumphant in Scotland.

7. *Elizabeth Aids the Congregation.*—Such a result was, of course, not to the interests of England. But the Scots were in revolt against authority, and of this Elizabeth did not approve. Many of her own people were still Catholics, and in the eyes of all good Catholics not she, but Mary of Scotland, was the rightful Queen of England. Mary and her husband, Francis II, were now Queen and King of France, and had also assumed the arms of England.

Elizabeth, therefore, had sent money and advice to the Congregation ; but to take their part openly might bring a French attack upon herself, and encourage her own discontented subjects to rebel. But her chief minister, Cecil, and Maitland for the Congregation, were both enthusiastic for the union of the two countries. To help to this it was even proposed that the young Earl of Arran should marry Elizabeth. In these circumstances a treaty was at last concluded at Berwick between the English Queen and the Congregation as representing the 'second person in the kingdom,' the Duke of Chatelherault. By this treaty Elizabeth took Scotland under her 'protection,' and was to assist in expelling the French, who, it was alleged, were seeking to conquer the country. Nothing was said of religion.

8. *The Siege of Leith and Treaty of Edinburgh* (1560).—An English fleet was already in the Forth. The French had, as usual, committed great excesses. No help could now come from France, where, too, there was a Protestant rising. They therefore retired to Leith, which they strongly fortified. An English army joined the troops of the Congregation in the siege. But the assaults failed, and the siege became a blockade. The Regent, who had been the soul of the resistance, now died in Edinburgh Castle. The Leith garrison were starved into surrender ; they had been reduced to horse-pie and roasted rats. A treaty was agreed upon at Edinburgh between England, France, and the Congregation. Francis and Mary were to give up using the arms of England. Both English and

French troops were to be withdrawn. There was to be a pardon for all engaged in the rising. No Frenchmen or clergy were to receive high office. A Parliament was to be summoned, but on what terms and for what purpose was left vague. Then both parties withdrew to leave the Scots to their own business. For once English statesmen had dealt wisely with Scotland. No spoil was taken, no town occupied, no mention made of the hateful claim of overlordship. In effect the *Treaty of Edinburgh* signed away the 'auld alliance' and the Catholic Church in Scotland. The Siege of Leith was the greatest fact in our history since Bannockburn.

9. *The Catholic Church Overthrown* (1560).—A Parliament or, as it was not summoned by the monarch, a Convention met in August. It was crowded with the inferior barons or lairds who, with the burgesses, were really 'the Congregation.' These asserted their right of attending the Estates, a right which they had long suffered to fall into disuse. The ministers were bidden to submit a 'Confession' of the Faith 'professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland.' It was accepted by the Estates almost unanimously. A week later the Lords of the Articles presented to Parliament a number of Acts which completed the overthrow of the ancient Church. Their burden was as follows: The Pope was to have 'no jurisdiction nor authority within this realm'; and no one was to 'say Mass, nor yet hear Mass, nor be present thereat' under pain of personal punishment and loss of goods 'for the first fault,' banishment for the

second, and death for the third. But to this last it did not come. A Catholic historian of the time praises the 'clemency' of the Protestant nobles, insomuch as 'they exiled few Catholics on the score of religion, imprisoned fewer, and put none to death.' The reformed clergy, indeed, pressed for a severer carrying out of the law, and this became one cause of disagreement with the lay leaders. On the other hand, many priests and monks became preachers of the new light. Others went to France; a few remained, moving about the country in disguise, especially in the Highlands. There, in the 'rough bounds' of the West and in the smaller isles, the old faith remained undisturbed, and has done so to this day. The towns which had possessed large establishments of cathedral clergy, or of monks or friars, suffered a good deal from their loss. In Glasgow, a Bishop's burgh, the quarter surrounding the cathedral and convents fell into poverty and decay.

10. *The New Church and the First Book of Discipline.*—It was now needful to organize the Protestant Church and provide for its ministers. Hitherto they had been supported by the benevolence of their friends. Naturally they expected that the new Church should inherit the possessions of that which it supplanted. The Protestant ministers drew up a constitution for their Church, which is known as the *First Book of Discipline.* The Scottish Church was framed on the lines of that of Geneva and the French Protestants who followed John Calvin, not of Lutheran Germany or England. No mention was made of bishops. Each

congregation was to choose its own minister. The Church as a whole was to be governed by a General Assembly, which now began to meet. Like the old Church, but on a greater scale, it was to maintain schools and colleges, and provide for the poor. By its 'discipline' it was to pursue and punish evil conduct and promote good living. For this purpose it was to have the final penalty of excommunication, which cut an offender off from intercourse with all save his or her own family. All these points were yet to become matters of serious conflict between Church and State. Meantime it was made clear that the Reformed Kirk was not to have the property. Such a measure would deprive men like Lord James of what they already possessed. Much of it too was, since before the Reformation, in the hands of other lords, to whom it had been disposed of by the prelates, who foresaw what was coming. All looked for a further share. The *First Book of Discipline*, therefore, was never accepted by the Estates. The arrangement actually made was that two-thirds of the ecclesiastical property was to be used to pension off the Catholic clergy till their death. The remaining third was to be divided between the Crown and the Protestant Kirk. But before this was settled things had taken a new turn. Francis II had died. The Guises had lost power in France. Mary had returned to her own kingdom, welcomed by an enthusiastic Edinburgh with bonfires and music (August, 1561).

CHAPTER XXII

QUEEN MARY—PART III (1561-1567)

1. *Mary in France and in Scotland.*—Mary was a widow in her nineteenth year. For a few brave months she had been Queen of France, and if she ruled her sickly husband, she herself did all under the direction of her uncles. Now she had to act for herself in circumstances strange and perplexing. But Mary never lacked courage, and she was besides a woman of much ability. She had lived in France since the age of six. Her education had been carefully directed, and she was no mean scholar. Like her mother, she was very tall. Her pale beauty, her frank and charming manner, and her many accomplishments were sung by French poets. The French Court was gay, and devoted to amusement. Mary was fond of music, dancing, plays, and fine dresses. This did not make her any the more likeable to the sterner Protestants of Scotland. From time to time the preachers, Knox especially, thundered against the balls and 'banquetings' that filled Holyrood with revelry. The change to Scotland was indeed a great one for the much-flattered Queen. It was a poor country. The Scots were accounted an 'unruly' and 'inconstant' people. It was a Protestant kingdom, where the Catholic service was a crime; and Mary was a Catholic. No doubt she would have restored the old Church, as the Pope desired her to do, had she found it possible. But it was as much as she could manage to get permission for herself and her

household to have a Catholic service in the Chapel Royal. Even this led to rioting and protests against 'idolatry' from the preachers. The future of the reformed religion was still uncertain. Mary would not, and never did, ratify the proceedings of

WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON, SECRETARY OF STATE TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AND KNOX'S ABLEST ANTAGONIST (1528(?)–1573).

From a picture in the collection of the Earl of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle.

the Parliament of 1560. Meantime, however, it was proclaimed that no charge was to be made in the form of religion found standing on her arrival.

2. *Mary Acts against the Catholic Party.*—The Queen's chief advisers were the Protestant leaders, her half-brother Lord James, and Maitland the

secretary. The year after her arrival she broke the power of the strongest Catholic nobleman in the kingdom, the Earl of Huntly. He was 'Cock o' the North,' wished to bend Mary to his will, and had given 'manifest tokens of disobedience.' The Queen herself went north with the force that defeated Huntly and his kinsman, the Earl of Sutherland, at Corrichie. Huntly died suddenly after being captured. Both families were forfeited, and for a time lost their estates. The Earldom of Moray was given to Lord James, whom the Gordons ever afterwards looked upon as their family enemy. The Earl of Morton, another Protestant, received Huntly's post as Chancellor. To satisfy the preachers the Queen even consented to the imprisonment of Archbishop Hamilton and other priests for celebrating Mass.

3. *Mary and Elizabeth.*—Mary's chief concern at present was that Queen Elizabeth should recognise her as her successor. Henry VIII in his will had barred her claim. In this she had the active support of Moray and Lethington, who both ardently desired the union of the two kingdoms. But Elizabeth was not at all anxious to take this step. It was enough for her to make her own position secure. Jealous of her fascinating cousin, she wished no rival near her throne. Her subjects would be led to look to Mary as a future Queen. To appoint a successor would be to have her 'winding-sheet' before her eyes. A strong effort was made to bring about a meeting between the two sovereigns. Good Catholics feared that if Mary met her cousin in England she would 'return no true Christian

Spooner & Co.

QUEEN ELIZABETH (1533–1603).

From the painting by Gerard at Burleigh House.

woman.' The preachers went 'wild' at the idea that she might adopt the mild Protestantism of Elizabeth. But neither that Queen nor her Council really desired the meeting. The Guises had now recovered their power in France, and Elizabeth aided the French Protestants in the religious war that followed. The plan of a conference therefore dropped. In the end Elizabeth flatly refused to make any arrangement as to her successor.

4. *Mary's Marriage.*—Meantime a wide breach had opened in the Protestant ranks. The preachers led by Knox were furious with the Protestant nobles for acting with Mary and tolerating her Catholicism. They would have forced her to conform, or removed her from the throne. Moray and Knox were not even on speaking terms. But the Queen was personally popular. She had some of her father's frolicsome ways. At one time she was lodging in a merchant's house in St. Andrews, and protesting to the English Ambassador that she did not know where the Queen was! At another she and her ladies, dressed as 'burgess-wives,' walked through the streets of Edinburgh taking contributions for a banquet, which was held in public. She could also write a letter to plead for a poor farmer who was in danger of being evicted from his farm. The absorbing question now was, who was to be her husband? The fate of the Church seemed to depend on whether he should be Protestant or Catholic. She herself inclined towards Don Carlos, the heir of Philip II, but her French friends discouraged an alliance with the national rival. In any case the Don was found to be impossible. Elizabeth also was in

The most illustrious Prince Henry, Lord Darnly, King of Scotland, father
of our Soueraigne lord King Iames. He died ye age of 21. 1567.
The most excellent Princesse Marie Queene of Scotland, mother to our Soue
raigne lord King Iames. She died 1586. and interred at Peterborough.

QUEEN MARY AND THE EARL OF DARNLEY.

From an engraving in the British Museum.

dread of Spain, and proposed a marriage with her disreputable favourite, the Earl of Leicester. This would have suited Knox and his friends, but was most unlikely. Then Elizabeth sent down to Scotland the Earl of Lennox and his son, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. Darnley, through his mother (see Chapter XX, § 2), was also a descendant of Margaret Tudor, and so Mary's cousin, and next to her in the English line. Lennox, who had been an exile since he had aided Henry VIII, was restored to his honours and estates. He and his handsome son passed for Catholics, but seemed 'indifferent' in religion. Darnley was a 'long lad,' 'beardless and lady-faced,' only nineteen years old. Mary fell in love with him, and though Elizabeth opposed the match, it was carried through in 1565. The 'dispensation' of the Pope to allow of a marriage between cousins did not arrive till some time after.

5. *The Chaseabout Raid.*—While Lethington agreed to the marriage, Moray did not, and was now at one with Knox. Protestantism, it was feared, was undone: there would be no firm establishment of religion. Personal jealousies, too, were at work. Moray, no longer in power, brought to his side the old and feeble Duke of Chatelherault, representing the Hamilton interest. The Duke had hoped that his son, the Earl of Arran, would marry the Queen. But Arran became insane. Argyll, too, was a personal enemy of Lennox. These lords were the leaders in the foolish rebellion that now took place, and was encouraged by Elizabeth. The excuse put forward was that Mary had proclaimed Darnley King without consent of the Estates. But the

Queen had the support of the Catholic nobles, and of Protestants such as Morton and Lord Lindsay. Lord Gordon was released from imprisonment, to be restored presently to the lands and titles of Huntly, and the Earl of Bothwell returned from exile in France—both mortal enemies of Moray. The rebels retreated before the royal forces from Glasgow to Paisley, and from Paisley to Hamilton. Thence they made a dash on Edinburgh, but found no support. They fled to Dumfries, and finally into England, where the astonished Moray was soundly scolded by Elizabeth for daring to rebel against his sovereign!

6. *Mary and David Riccio.*—Mary had shattered the Protestant party. Its only dangerous leaders were in exile. Protestant support had not succeeded in bringing her any nearer the English crown; she would therefore try what might be done with Catholic assistance. Her husband was the favourite of the English Catholics. But she soon found that he could be of no service to her design. He was vain, spiteful, foolish, and a drunkard. He was not the man to be trusted with the work she had on hand. She was in correspondence with the Pope and Philip, asking 'the aid of one of the great Princes of Christianity' in resisting 'the establishment of wretched errors,' securing her position in Scotland, and making good her claim to the throne of England. In all this her chief confidant and agent was her secretary, a 'stranger Italian,' a musician at Court, named David Riccio. Thus she had fallen into the fatal Stewart error of ignoring her nobles and high

officials, and preferring a favourite of humble birth. As the first step in her new scheme, a Parliament was summoned for March, 1566, at which the forfeiture of the exiled lords was to be made complete, and something done 'anent restoring the auld religion.' She had previously proclaimed that in religion every man was 'to live according to his conscience.' But such toleration was, in the circumstances, impossible. The danger to Protestantism and jealousy of Riccio thus gave rise to a fresh combination.

7. *Murder of Riccio* (*March* 8, 1566).—To Darnley Riccio was specially hateful. His desire was to secure the 'Crown matrimonial, and so be King as much as Mary was Queen, and not in name only.' For Mary's refusal to meet his wishes he blamed the artful Italian. This feeling the friends of the exiles worked on for their own ends. A bargain was struck in a 'band' between Darnley on the one part, and the Earls of Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, 'and their complices' on the other. Darnley was to secure their pardon and their restoration to their estates. They were to get for him the 'crown matrimonial.' The established religion was to be maintained. Riccio was to be 'tane away.' Accordingly, in the dusk of a March evening, during the sitting of the Parliament, the 'complices' in Scotland, the Earl of Morton and the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, proceeded to fulfil their share. While Morton with his Douglas friends held the approaches to Holyrood, Ruthven and his son and Lindsay followed Darnley into the Queen's apartments. They were followed thither by the others. Riccio was

seized, with some rough usage to the Queen, and dragged out to 'the fore-door in the outer chamber.' There his captors fell furiously upon him with their daggers. The dead body of the secretary was thrown down the stair, and left with the King's own dagger, which George Douglas had borrowed, sticking in his breast. Next day Moray and his companions rode into Edinburgh.

8. *Mary, Darnley, and Bothwell.*—The Protestant lords now had Mary in their power, a prisoner in Holyrood. But Darnley proved the traitor. He had ever a 'heart of wax.' Won over by the Queen, he escaped with her by night to Dunbar Castle, the seat of the Earl of Bothwell, whom Mary had made Warden of the Marches. The principal Catholic Earls joined them, and with a numerous band of followers, the party returned to the capital. The Riccio murderers dispersed, and their leaders, Morton, Lindsay, and the Ruthvens, withdrew to England. To divide her opponents Mary received the exiled lords back to favour. The murder of her secretary had ended her scheme for the overthrow of Elizabeth. Her own royal seat was now insecure. In her difficulty she leaned more and more upon Bothwell. James Hepburn was an accomplished man, but masterful, boastful, and bold. He took the leading place at Court. Mary was much with him. Darnley found himself slighted and disliked, and he even threatened to leave the country. The birth of a young Prince, James, made things no better, and was sad news for Elizabeth. But at his baptism in Stirling Castle Bothwell, and not Darnley, was the active figure.

The King, indeed, by his weakness and folly, was now without a friend. Mary wished to be rid of him. Moray and Lethington, as well as Bothwell, were willing to help in a 'divorcement.' But such a measure had serious difficulties.

9. *Murder of Darnley* (1567).—Meantime Darnley had fallen ill of small-pox in Glasgow. There Mary joined him. When fairly recovering and fit to travel, she had him conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh. He was lodged in a solitary and ruinous house known as Kirk o' Field, hard by the city wall. The house belonged to a friend of Bothwell. Such a strange choice of residence could have but one explanation: a plot to dispose of Darnley was in the air. The murderers of Riccio had been allowed to return from England. The Earl of Morton had been approached to take a hand in the business, but refused; he did not wish to get into new trouble. Lethington and others knew what was afoot, but no one would risk anything to save the slippery King. In Kirk o' Field Mary herself had a room where she sometimes passed the night. A masked ball at Holyrood took her early away on the night of Sunday, February 9. As she mounted her horse she caught sight of one of Bothwell's attendants. 'Jesu, Paris,' she remarked, 'how begrimed you are!' He was blackened with the powder which he had been helping to place in the cellars of Kirk o' Field. Early in the following morning the city was startled by a terrific explosion. Kirk o' Field had been blown up. The bodies of Darnley and his servant were found in the grounds untouched by fire. The common report was that they

had been strangled. The bodies of the others in the house lay in the ruins.

10. *Mary Marries Bothwell.*—No one was likely to grieve for Darnley, or be much concerned about his loss. Gunpowder was, of course, a clumsy thing to use. But the idea was to suggest that the life of the Queen herself was aimed at, and that only the lucky chance of being absent at Holyrood saved her. This might divert blame from the proper quarter, Bothwell. Mary, too, offered a reward for the discovery of the murderers. Thereupon voices were heard in the streets and placards were fixed up on walls, accusing Bothwell and his friends. Darnley's father demanded a trial of these suspected persons. This was granted, but Lennox was forbidden to attend the Court with more than six followers, while Bothwell, on the day of trial, filled the Edinburgh streets with his horsemen. Lennox, aware of the risk he would run, did not appear, and Bothwell secured from friendly or overawed judges a verdict of 'not guilty.' He was now the most powerful man in the country. The Protestant nobles found that they had gained nothing by Darnley's removal. The Queen's preference for the bold Earl was open. The suspicion hardened that she herself had been concerned in her husband's murder. The precise Moray left for a tour on the Continent. Next, Bothwell with a body of horse met the Queen as she rode from Stirling to Edinburgh, and carried her off to Dunbar Castle. The Earl was securing a divorce from his wife. As this was being completed he returned with his willing captive to Edinburgh. He was

created Duke of Orkney, and on May 15, 1567, little more than three months after Darnley's death, Mary married the man who had made her a widow. The ceremony was a Protestant one; Bothwell having always professed himself a Protestant, and Mary being willing to sacrifice anything and everything for her unscrupulous lover.

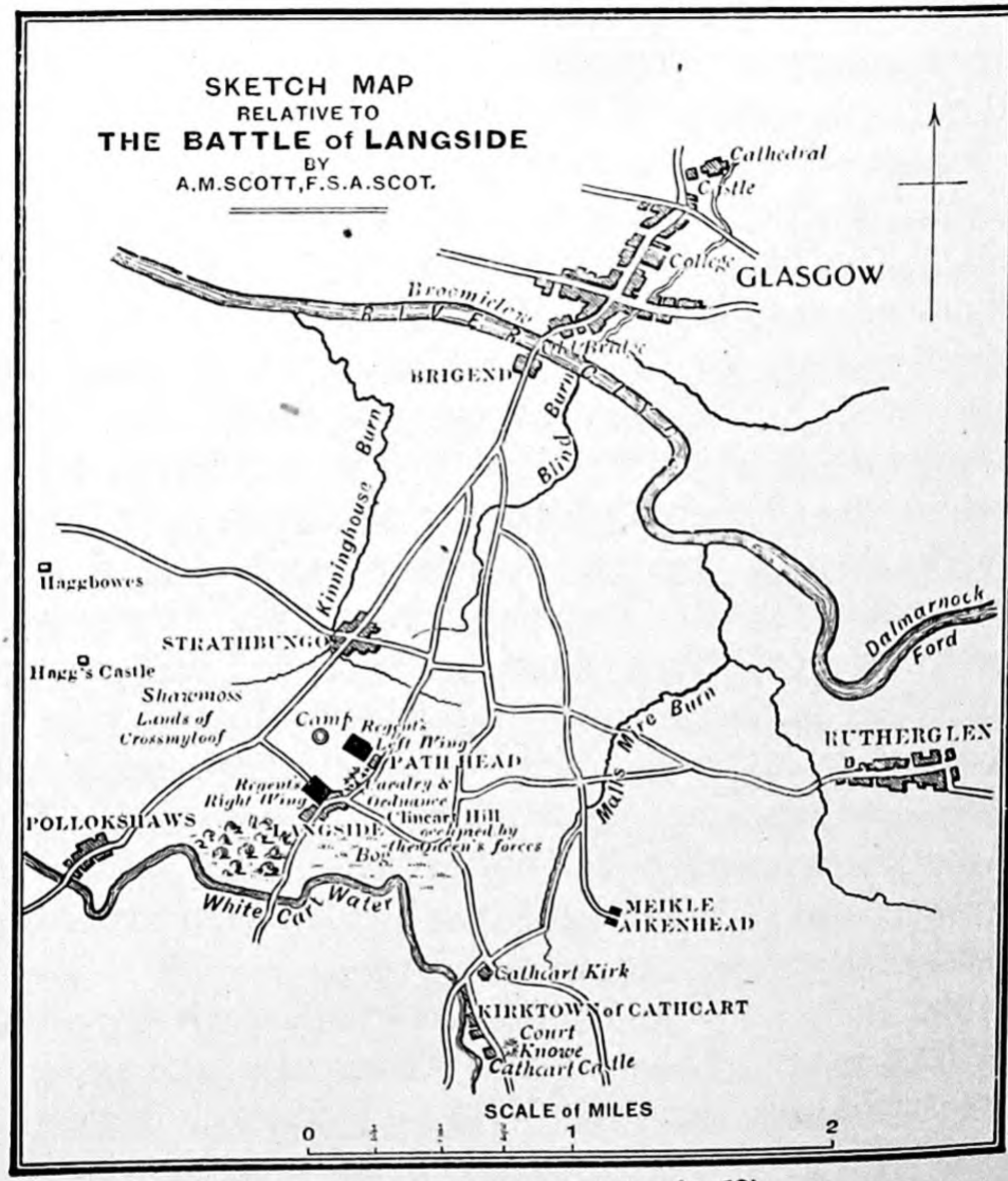
11. *Mary is Forced to Abdicate.*—But by this step she ruined herself. Public feeling turned against her. The leading nobles, both Protestant and Catholic, made a 'band' for her separation from the Earl. Not for this had they winked at the removal of Darnley. While Mary and Bothwell were in Borthwick Castle, Lord Hume made a hurried march and surrounded it. But the Earl escaped, and Mary quickly joined him. The lords then occupied Edinburgh, and when the Queen and her husband marched against them, met their force of Borderers at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh. There was no fighting: the Queen's troops were not to be trusted. After some negotiation she agreed to surrender. Bothwell was given time to ride away. Her supporters, she insisted, were not to be molested; Mary was always true to her friends. Then, alone, she faced the rebel lords and the insulting cries of their soldiers. In her rage she 'talked of nothing but hanging and crucifying them all.' From Edinburgh she was quietly transferred to the Castle of Lochleven, on a little island in the loch. The people and the preachers clamoured for her execution as the murderess of her husband. The Hamiltons, too, suggested it. There would then be but a weakly child between them and the prize

of royalty. But Mary was induced to give up her throne in favour of her son, with the Earl of Moray as Regent; and James was accordingly crowned at Scone amid much public rejoicing. Moray shortly after returned from France. The lords declared they had letters in the Queen's hand proving her connection with the murder of Darnley.

12. *The Queen's Party*.—This result did not please all. The Hamiltons resented the leading position being given to Moray. Many of the nobles had been anxious only for the separation of the Queen and Bothwell. This had been accomplished. The desperate Earl had retired to his northern duchy, where he collected ships for a career of piracy. Kirkcaldy of Grange, in hot pursuit, forced him to make for the coast of Norway. His vessel was arrested by a Danish ship; he was recognized as a pirate, and committed to prison, where, ten years later, he died, 'mad and miserable for filth.' Meantime Scotland was rid of him. The Queen's surrender had placed the Protestants in power, and the Parliament which met towards the end of the year renewed the reforming Statutes of 1560. No one could hold public office who was not a Protestant. All magistrates were to take an oath to 'root out heretics.' This, of course, drove the Catholic nobles, such as Atholl, back to Mary's side.

13. *Mary Escapes and Flies to England* (1568).—Early in May of the following year Mary was helped to escape from Lochleven. She had made useful friends of Lady Douglas of Lochleven, the 'pretty George Douglas,' and a young page. A troop of horsemen received her on the shore, and with them she rode

to Hamilton, where a strong body of supporters soon gathered. Their intention was to hold Dumbarton Castle as an open door for France. But Moray



THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE (1568).

From 'The Battle of Langside,' by A. M. Scott (Hopkins).

promptly assembled a force at Glasgow. He stopped the advance of the Queen's more numerous army by seizing the village of Langside. Argyll, the Queen's general, was no soldier. Kirkcaldy, by a flank charge

of pikemen, threw his troops into disorder. Mary, seeing that the day was lost, tried to make for Dumbarton. But she was too late. She feared to give herself up. She therefore turned south, and with six attendants rode all the way to the shore of the Solway. There, however, she refused to stop, though in the country of her supporter, Lord Herries. Crossing the firth she, with her small company, proceeded to Carlisle. It was her vain hope that Elizabeth would protect and aid her. But Elizabeth had her own interests to serve, and the instructions of the English Council to the Governor of Carlisle sounded Mary's doom: 'Let none of them escape!'

CHAPTER XXIII

JAMES VI—PART I: THE MINORITY (1567-1587)

1. *The Casket Letters.*—Mary in England put Elizabeth in a difficult position. The cause of the fugitive was the cause of all Kings and Queens—that rebellion should not be suffered. In this she had Elizabeth's sympathy. On the other hand, the Protestant lords were the friends of England. Their defeat would mean a revival of Catholicism, and the recovery of French influence in Scotland. Elizabeth, therefore, induced both sides to agree to an inquiry. Mary accused Moray and his friends of being rebels. They replied that she had been guilty of misgovernment, and had given up her crown at Lochleven. Commissioners appointed by the three parties to go into the matter sat first at York, afterwards at London. When no settlement seemed

likely, Moray reluctantly made an 'eik,' or additional charge—that the Queen had actually been guilty with Bothwell of her husband's murder. The direct proof put forward was contained in one 'horrible and long letter' from Glasgow, out of eight which were alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell.* These, with certain other documents, had

EARL OF MORAY, QUEEN MARY'S HALF-BROTHER, AND KNOX'S MOST POWERFUL SUPPORTER (1531(?)–1570)

From the picture at Holyrood.

been found in a silver casket left by the Earl in Edinburgh Castle, and taken from the servant who had been sent to bring it away. Mary affirmed that they were forged, and demanded that they should be shown to her. This was most unfairly refused. It would not be to the interest of any of

* The originals disappeared after 1584.

the parties that the whole truth should be told; so the Commissioners reported that nothing had been proved against Moray and his friends 'that might impair their honour and allegiance,' and nothing against Mary that could lead the Queen of England to 'take any evil opinion of her good sister.' Mary, nevertheless, remained a prisoner, while Moray went back to Scotland to resume the regency.

2. *The Good Regent.*—In Scotland he found the Queen's party again active, moved mainly by personal jealousies. The Duke of Chatelherault had arrived from France to receive a commission as Mary's 'deputy,' but Moray and Morton had no hard task in breaking up this fresh combination. The Hamiltons, 'for all their brag,' did just nothing. Argyll, abandoned by the Duke, submitted. Huntly raided in the north till Moray paid him a visit, when he and 'the chief of the clans' gave pledges for future obedience. In both Highlands and Borders the Regent promptly suppressed the outbreaks of disorder and robbery. The country seemed likely to settle down quietly under his firm rule; but Lethington, who, since the flight of his enemy Bothwell, had clung secretly to the Queen's cause, was now working in her favour. A communication from Elizabeth was submitted to the Estates suggesting, on certain terms, Mary's restoration to at least a share in the Government. At the same time Mary asked to have her marriage with Bothwell dissolved. A divorce was presently granted by the Pope; but the Estates would not hear of Mary resuming power in any degree. To get Maitland out of the way, Moray had him accused of a share in devising Darn-

ley's murder; but Lethington was soon safe with his friend Kirkcaldy of Grange, Captain of Edinburgh Castle. Towards the close of January, 1570, the Regent, as he passed through the crowded street of Linlithgow, was mortally wounded by the musket of James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who himself carried the glad news to his friends at Hamilton.

3. *Civil War.*—The death of 'the good Regent' was the signal for an uprising. Mary's supporters were the majority of the nobles, and Kirkcaldy of Grange 'clean revolted,' and with Maitland and Lord Hume held Edinburgh Castle for the Queen. It was the Bothwell marriage that provoked the rebellion. Mary was now free of Bothwell; why should she not resume her position? The King's party decayed. Its strong man was the Earl of Morton, and Morton would listen to no plan for Mary's return. But his cause was lost if Elizabeth did not intervene. An English force, therefore, entered Scotland, devastated the lands of the Hamiltons, and made possible the selection of the Earl of Lennox as Regent. It was now civil war, and the successes of the war fell to Lennox and Morton. The rock of Dumbarton was climbed on a misty night, and seized for the King. Archbishop Hamilton, in full armour, was found within, and was hanged at Stirling for his share in the plot which accomplished the death of Moray. But a band of Borderers surprised the Regent and his friends at Stirling, and in the scuffle Lennox was treacherously shot. He was succeeded by the Earl of Mar, a mere cover for Morton's rule. The war became one of no quarter. There was 'nothing but

hanging on either side.' But as time passed, and the prospect of Mary's release faded, her champions weakened. The lords knew that, when the King's side prevailed, they would be stripped of their lands. Assured of their honours and estates, the Hamiltons and the Gordons abandoned a failing cause. Others were bribed; Argyll receiving 'a fat Kirk benefice.' At last were left only the sick and helpless Maitland with Kirkcaldy and his little garrison on 'the craig.' Mar, who had wished for peace, now died, and the resolute Morton was chosen Regent. The Castle was battered with English guns till its towers and walls ran down 'like a sandy brae.' The exhausted garrison forced a surrender. Lethington was found dead. Hume was spared, but Kirkcaldy suffered the fate Knox had foretold for him—to 'hang against the face of the sun' (1573). Knox, unbending to the last, had died in November of the previous year.

4. *Morton Regent.*—The House of Morton was the third branch of the Douglases to become prominent in Scottish affairs. And James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton, was the strongest and most capable statesman of his name. During the five years he acted as Regent he governed well, and the country returned to prosperity. These years 'were esteemed to be as happy and peaceable as ever Scotland saw. The name of a Papist durst not be heard of; there was no thief nor oppressor that durst show himself.'* For lack of funds he continued the practice of debasing the coinage, which brought him some unpopularity. Scots money was worth only a tenth of English. Yet foreign trade increased by bounds.

* Original, 'kythe.'

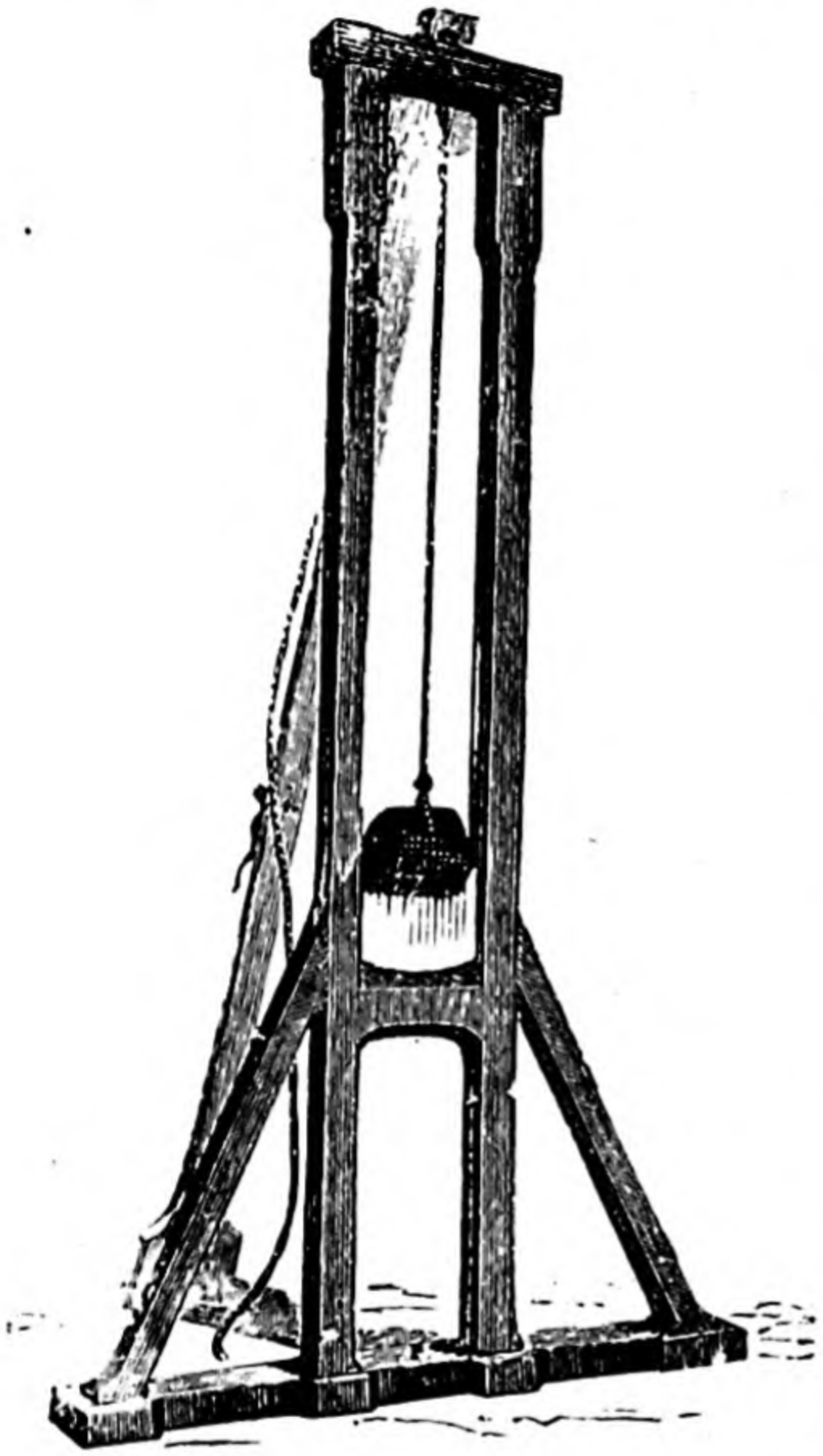
The middle class of merchants and craftsmen grew in numbers and wealth. They, with the smaller landowners or lairds, were the strength of the Protestant party, and with their prosperity came power. The English Ambassador could see 'the noblemen's great credit decay in that country, and the barons, burghs, and such-like take more upon them.'

5. *The 'Tulchan' Bishops.*—Morton, like Moray and Lethington, was of the school that desired a close union with England. To this end he wished the national Churches to be similar in character: 'Bishops to rule the Church, and they to be answerable to the King.' He disliked the political speaking of the ministers, and objected to General Assemblies being summoned without the royal permission. As the old Catholic prelates died out Protestant bishops were appointed in their places. To have no bishops would be to destroy one of the Estates, and so alter the whole machinery of Government. Morton, therefore, secured the consent of the Church to this arrangement in the meantime; but the lords continued to appoint inferior men with small salaries, and pocketed the rest of the revenues. These Protestant prelates were known as 'tulchan' bishops; a tulchan being the stuffed skin of a calf set beside a cow to induce her to give milk. When the clergy protested against this misuse of what belonged to the Kirk, the lords declared that they would abandon their cause unless they got the Church revenues. This was in the height of the civil war, and the protesting clergy were helpless. As always in Scotland, the lords had to do the fighting at their own expense. But the Church soon found

a leader of the old type in the scholarly and outspoken Andrew Melville, who took up the cry against bishops. Melville, like Knox, had been trained in the Calvinist republic of Geneva. The Regent's economies, too, made him powerful enemies. He was strict in money matters, which the officials and nobles in the Government did not like. Atholl and Argyll, otherwise deadly rivals, headed a party against him. He was forced to resign, and the hard Regent went down to Lochleven Castle to amuse himself with gardening. Aided by his nephew Angus and the Earl of Mar he was able to recover power for a short space, during which he completed the ruin of the House of Hamilton. There were no more Regents.

6. *Execution of Morton* (1581).—But the Earl had now a more serious rival. There arrived from France the King's cousin, Esmé Stewart, Lord D'Aubigny. He was a handsome, pleasant, accomplished man, and speedily found high favour with the fourteen-year-old King. By the forfeiture of the Hamiltons he was the King's heir, and he induced his uncle to resign to him the Earldom of Lennox. Though supposed to be a Catholic, and to act in the Catholic interest, he professed to be converted to Protestantism by the boy-King's clever reasoning. James, indeed, had been well educated by his tutors, one of whom was the famous scholar George Buchanan, and was already overproud of his learning. Even at the age of six, as he walked with his guardian, Lady Mar, he would discourse 'of knowledge and ignorance.' Associated with Lennox was Captain James Stewart, brother-in-law of John

Knox. These two adventurers took up the task of disposing of Morton. The Earl was charged with being one of the murderers of Darnley. He could not deny that he had known of the plot, though he had refused to take part in it. On the ground of this guilty foreknowledge and concealment he was executed, and his head stuck on a spike on the gable of Edinburgh Tolbooth. Captain Stewart, his accuser, received the Earldom of Arran. Lennox and Lord Maxwell had arranged to divide Morton's lands, even before his trial. Mary in her English prison was 'most glad' at the news of the death of 'her greatest enemy.'



THE MAIDEN, OR SCOTCH GUILLOTINE, WITH WHICH MORTON WAS EXECUTED.

7. *Catholic Intrigues.*—The chief Protestant champion being dead, and James under the influence of Lennox, the time seemed favourable for a Catholic success. Jesuits and priests haunted the Court and the Catholic nobles of Scotland. All sorts of wild schemes were afloat. Spanish troops were to be landed. Mary was to be freed, and placed on the

throne of a united Catholic England and Scotland. James was to be removed to Spain, to be converted by force if necessary, and married to a Catholic Princess. But Mary's reliance on Spain provoked the jealousy of France. Philip was not at all anxious to unite Scotland and England, as he had an eye on the latter kingdom for himself. Mary was to learn that her son would do nothing for her, and that she had no influence over him. But the news of these doings got abroad, and roused great alarm in Protestant quarters.

8. *The Second Book of Discipline and the Negative Confession* (1581).—The Kirk, too, found that it had profited nothing by the fall of Morton. The 'tulchan' bishops remained, though they had no power, and were subject to the Assembly. That Court now declared itself against Bishops. Instead, and with the approval of the King, it set afoot the system of local Church government by presbyteries, from which the Scottish Church has come to be known as Presbyterian. Further, it adopted the *Second Book of Discipline*, which, however, had the fate of the first in that it was not accepted by Parliament. Once more a claim was made for the Church property as the 'patrimony' of the Kirk. The 'Book' sought also to distinguish clearly between the powers of State and Church. In 'spiritual' matters the Church was to be independent of all State interference. It proved difficult in practice to say what was, and what was not, 'spiritual.' Earlier in the year an elaborate Confession had been drawn up, which condemned in every particular the teaching and claims of Rome. It was known as the

Negative Confession, and was signed by both the King and the unscrupulous Lennox. Thereafter it was ordered to be signed by all ministers and their parishioners under threat of punishment. Thus it was made a national bond or *covenant* against Catholicism.

9. *The Ruthven Raid* (1582).—The power of such a favourite as Lennox was certain to raise opposition. The preachers made known what had been discovered as to his dealings with the Catholic powers. The usual Scots method was followed to displace him. A strong party of the nobles, headed by Ruthven, now Earl of Gowrie, seized the King at a hunting-party at Ruthven Castle. Their complaint to the King was that he did not take the 'auld nobility' to be his advisers as the custom of the kingdom was. Lennox was forced to leave the country, and went to France, where he shortly died. The Assembly approved of the action of the lords on account of the danger to the Kirk as well as to the 'innocent person' of his Majesty; so did the docile Parliament, though James afterwards scored out the Act. But Lennox being got rid of, the lords could no longer hold together. Elizabeth would send them neither money nor soldiers. Ten months after his capture James easily escaped. The 'lords reformers' were not punished meantime, but Arran took the place of Lennox in the King's counsels. He, it was believed, 'put the opinion of absolute power in his Majesty's head.' James resented the action of the preachers in dealing with political affairs in their sermons. Andrew Melville was summoned before the Council for uttering from the

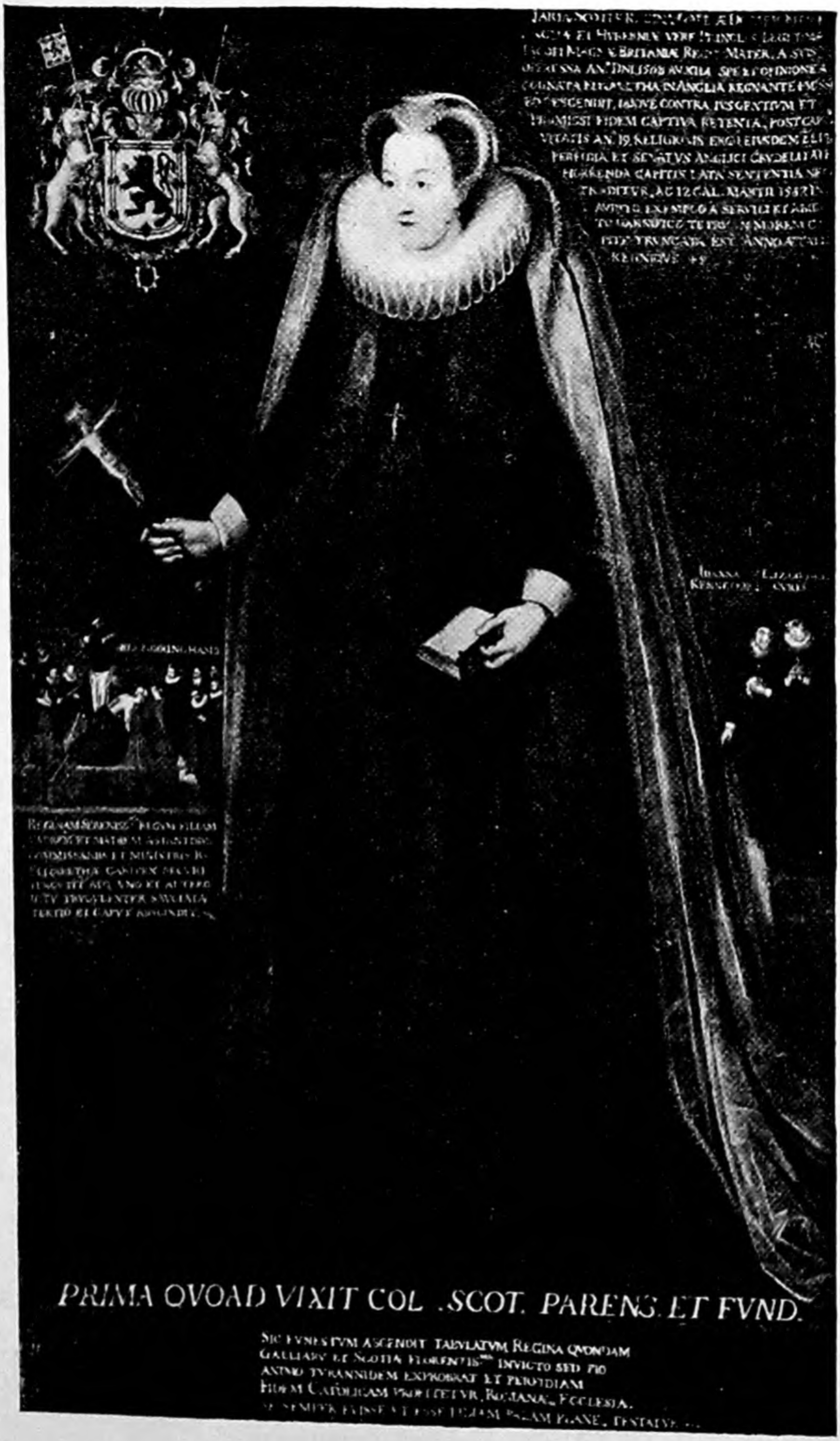
pulpit what was declared to be 'treason.' He claimed that for what he preached he should be tried by the Kirk. James answered that treason was a matter for the Council to deal with, and not the Kirk. Melville was ordered to go into confinement, but slipped away to Berwick. A fresh conspiracy to seize the King was exposed by Arran. Gowrie was trapped and executed. The other Earls and many ministers joined Melville across the Border. Arran had the refugee lords forfeited, and punished with severity their associates.

10. *The Black Acts* (1584).—A Parliament packed by the King next undid all that the Church had hitherto accomplished. The King was declared to be supreme over Church and State. He and his Council were to be accepted as judges over all persons, 'temporal or spiritual.' To deny this was treason. Assemblies were not to be summoned without the royal permission. The 'estate' of bishops was restored. To speak against these enactments was a treasonable offence. The ministers were then ordered to sign a declaration accepting these Acts, or be deprived of their livings. Most were induced to do so: a few preferred to follow their brethren into exile. By these *Black Acts* James divided the Church. The opponents of all Episcopacy were now in a minority.

11. *Fall of Arran.*—Arran's triumph was short-lived. The formation of the Catholic League between the Pope, Philip, and the House of Guise for France, threatened all Protestant countries. Elizabeth approached James with a proposal for alliance against the common danger. James was, of course,

anxious to stand well with the English Queen. At her instigation the banished lords returned from England, and, joined by the whole Borders east and west, seized Stirling with the King, and made themselves masters of the Government. The detested Arran went into hiding, till he was speared in the back by Douglas of Parkhead in revenge for Morton's death. The banished lords were restored to their estates, and the ministers to their congregations. But to the bitter disappointment of the latter, the *Black Acts* were allowed to stand. The Privy Council was made up of both Protestant and Catholic Earls, and a close alliance was concluded with England.

12. *Execution of Mary.*—There Mary's hour had at last struck. All her ingenious scheming had come to nothing, and only led to her closer confinement. The activity of the Catholics in her favour turned to desperate measures. Elizabeth would have to be removed by assassination. But her agents and spies kept in touch with all such plots, and allowed Mary to implicate herself in that formed by a certain Anthony Babington. When all was ready, Babington was seized and executed. Mary was brought to trial, and for two days in the hall of Fotheringay Castle defended herself with skill and courage. She was condemned to death, but Elizabeth delayed her execution for three months, in the hope that some one would take the hint, and save her the odium of putting the unfortunate Queen to death. Finally, on the morning of February 8, 1587, Mary laid her comely head under the axe of the executioner. Feeling in Scotland was strong against the sentence,



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS (1542–1587).

From the Memorial Portrait in the possession of the Trustees of Blair's College, Aberdeen.

and an instant war on England would have been highly popular. But James, though he protested, did not wish to risk his chance of the English throne. Mary, in her will, had turned from her heretic son to bequeath her rights to the King of Spain ; and James left her to her fate. On a later day he caused Fotheringay Castle to be razed to the ground, and brought his mother's body to burial in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XXIV

JAMES VI—PART II: KING OF SCOTLAND (1587-1603)

1. *Scotland and the Spanish Armada.*—In the year of his mother's execution James became of 'perfect age.' The event was marked by two important Acts. One revoked all grants of Church property made in the previous reign as well as during James's minority, with certain exceptions. Money was badly needed to meet the expenses of Government. Many of the estates, however, were begged from James by his noble friends. Meantime the Kirk was starved. Another Act made effective that of 1427, allowing the free tenants of the King in the shires to send representatives to Parliament, instead of attending personally. These were intended to serve as a check on the power of the great nobles. But the feeling which now mastered the country was dread of an invasion from Spain. Philip was fitting out his 'Invincible Armada.' As James was a heretic and Philip his mother's heir, the danger was as great to him as to Elizabeth. It was

rumoured even that the Spanish troops would be landed in Scotland. Accordingly men were drilled,

JAMES VI AND I (1566–1625).

After the portrait by Paul von Somer.

beacons prepared to give warning, and the Confession of 1581 was sent round for signature, under compulsion. The Catholic lords, chief of whom were

the Earl of Huntly in the north, and Lord Maxwell in the south-west, were ready to welcome Spain. But Huntly was a man of no courage. James himself entered Maxwell's country, and shut him up out of mischief. All that Scotland saw of the Armada in the summer of 1588 was the tall ships that drove helplessly ashore on the islands and coasts of the north and west.

2. *James and the Catholic Earls.*—But the Catholic leaders had not abandoned hope. Early next year Cecil, Elizabeth's Minister, got possession of letters on their way to Spain from the Earls of Huntly and Errol. They invited a new enterprise, and promised help. 'No King could bear this,' wrote Elizabeth to James, when she sent him the letters. The Protestant ministers cried out for justice on the traitors—that is, confiscation and death—but James was not so minded. Let off easily, the Earls and their friends plotted to seize the King. Thereupon he marched north against them. Errol would have fought, but Huntly feared and his Highland supporters left him. The northern barons and chiefs —Gordons, Keiths, Grants, Mackintoshes, and Mackenzies—signed a bond of obedience. Huntly and Crawford were sent to ward, but released in a few months to welcome the arrival of James's Queen. She was Anne, daughter of the King of Denmark, a Protestant, who later became a convert to the Catholic faith. This match had not been favoured by James's chief adviser, the 'wise' John Maitland, a brother of the famous Secretary, who became Chancellor and was created Lord Thirlestane. He was a Protestant, and friendly to England, but was

disliked by the Queen and by the men of nobler birth.

3. *The Catholic Party Destroyed.*—The discovery of a fresh intrigue between the Catholic Earls and Spain again caused great excitement. Letters from Huntly, Errol, and a Catholic Angus, desiring terms for a Spanish invasion, were seized on the Clyde. Some papers, bearing only signatures, are known as the 'Spanish Blanks.' James himself, too, was making friendly approaches to the Catholic powers. His one aim was to make sure of the succession to the English throne, and as there were still many Catholics in England, he was anxious to conciliate them. He was not himself a Catholic, nor likely to become one; but, with good cause, he distrusted Elizabeth. On the other hand, his Protestant subjects, and especially the outspoken ministers, did not trust him. The country, as a whole, was in a desperate condition. Feuds ran their course unchecked. Justice was powerless. Johnstones, on the West Borders, Macfarlanes and Macgregors in the West Highlands, were conspicuous for their robberies and murders. James, almost helpless, tried to arrange matters with the Catholic Earls; but they took up arms. He was forced to act. Huntly defeated his Lieutenant, the young Argyll, at *Glenrinnes* in 1594. James himself had, therefore, to deal with the rebellion in person. The Earls fled abroad, but their estates were left to their families. Later they were restored, and Huntly and Errol were received into the Church. It was James's desire to retain their support in keeping the power of the Kirk in check, but the Catholic cause in Scot-

land was no more a danger to the State. Lord Maxwell had already fallen in a clan fight with his feudal enemies the Johnstones, at Dryfe Sands, near Lockerby—the last battle of the sort on the Borders.

4. *James in Conflict with the Ministers.*—The King's soft treatment of the Catholic Earls roused Protestant feeling to a high pitch. This feeling found expression in the pulpit, and in the meetings of the General Assembly. The ministers, especially those of Edinburgh, had the ear of the public. In their sermons, which were delivered three times a week, they criticized, often in violent language, the doings of the King and his Ministers. The Assemblies were more independent than the Parliament, and included lay members as well as clergymen. All this was intolerable to the King, who could not bear opposition. Moreover, the claims of the ministers seemed to limit his royal power. Andrew Melville, in one of his many stormy interviews with James, told him, as he 'plucked' the King by the sleeve, that he was 'God's sillie (weak) vassal,' and in the Kirk 'not a King, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member.' When summoned for introducing political matters into their sermons, the preachers refused to acknowledge the right of the King to judge them in what they claimed to be their spiritual office. James, on the contrary, maintained that he should rule both Kirk and State; that ministers should not handle political questions in the pulpit; and that he was supreme judge in all causes.

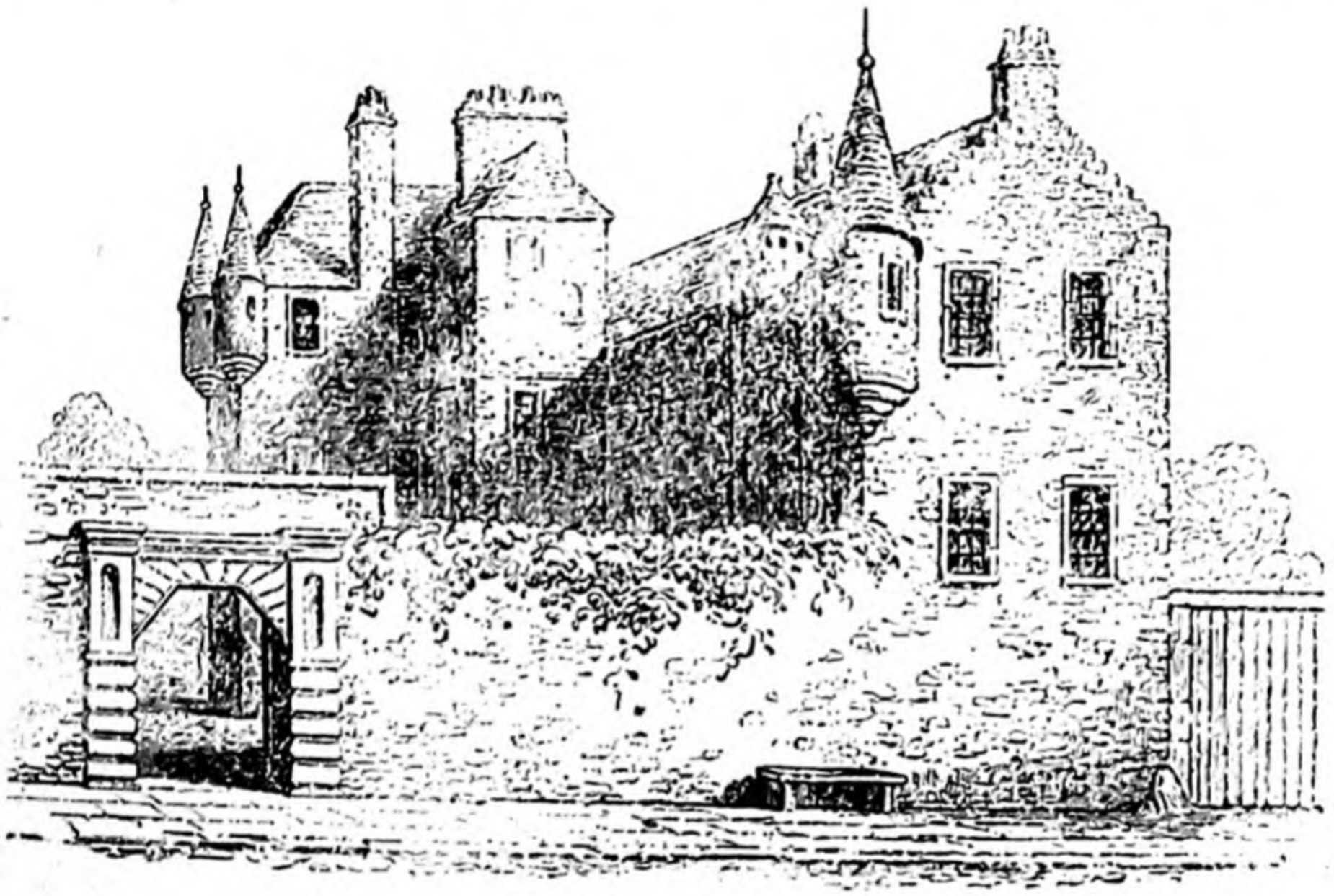
5. *James Imposes Bishops.*—Unfortunately, in the circumstances of the time it was not easy to separate politics and religion; but as long as Chancellor

Thirlestane lived matters went smoothly enough between the King and the ministers. It was Thirlestane who secured the passing of the important Acts of 1592. The penal laws against Catholics, more severe in Scotland than in England, were ratified. Presbyterian government of the Church was approved. The 'tulchan' bishops became a mere name. Their livings had been already annexed to the Crown, and they had now no means of support. Archbishop Adamson died in poverty. But the business of the Catholic Earls brought Kirk and King into sharp opposition. James determined to break the strength of the Kirk. By one of the recent Acts no Assembly could be held without his permission. He now summoned Assemblies at his pleasure. The northern ministers were brought down to check and outvote the extreme members from the south, who had hitherto ruled that body. James secured their support for his policy by flattery, by bribes, and even by threats. He was bent on having bishops, both as a means of controlling the Kirk, and, since they could sit in Parliament as one of the Estates, of balancing the strength of the great nobles. James's new adviser, Lord Menmuir, would have had representatives appointed by the Kirk. This, however, the Estates would not agree to, but consented that ministers only should be appointed to vacant bishoprics, and that these should sit in Parliament. James professed that he was anxious only to benefit the Kirk by giving it a voice in the Government, and so enable it to provide itself with adequate support. He protested it was not his intention to introduce 'Papistical or

Anglican bishopping.' But the Melville party objected to the very shadow of Episcopacy. They got hold of a copy of a book which James had written, but not yet published, called *Basilicon Doron* (The Royal Gift). In it he showed plainly his preference for regular bishops. As a result, an alarmed Assembly again decided that the representatives of the Church should be elected annually; that they should be called 'Commissioners,' and should have no Episcopal power. There was thus a deadlock between the Parliament and the Kirk, and James found himself baffled. He solved the difficulty by appointing bishops to the Sees of Caithness, Ross, and Aberdeen, where alone some of the property of the bishoprics was still left in his hands (1600). A later Assembly, properly managed, approved of this step, and requested that the other bishoprics should be filled. But the presbyteries and other Church courts continued. The bishops sat and voted in Parliament, but as yet had no place in the government of the Kirk. This was to come later.

6. *The Gowrie Affair* (1600).—On a day some months before the appointment of the bishops occurred a strange affair in Gowrie House, the Perth residence of the Earl of Gowrie son of the Lord Ruthven of the Ruthven Raid. The Earl's brother, Alexander, Master of Ruthven, induced the King to ride from the hunt at Falkland over to Gowrie House, in order that he might examine into the case of a man who had been found in possession of a pot full of gold coins. An attempt to secure the person of the King in a small turret chamber

led to a struggle. James managed to raise an alarm. His attendants rushed to his rescue. Both the Ruthvens were slain, and with them perished all knowledge of their intentions. There were some who suggested a plot on the King's part to ruin Gowrie and his brother. Gowrie was a Presbyterian; and this difference of opinion again brought about a quarrel between the King and the Edinburgh



GOWRIE HOUSE.

The King's turret is to the right.

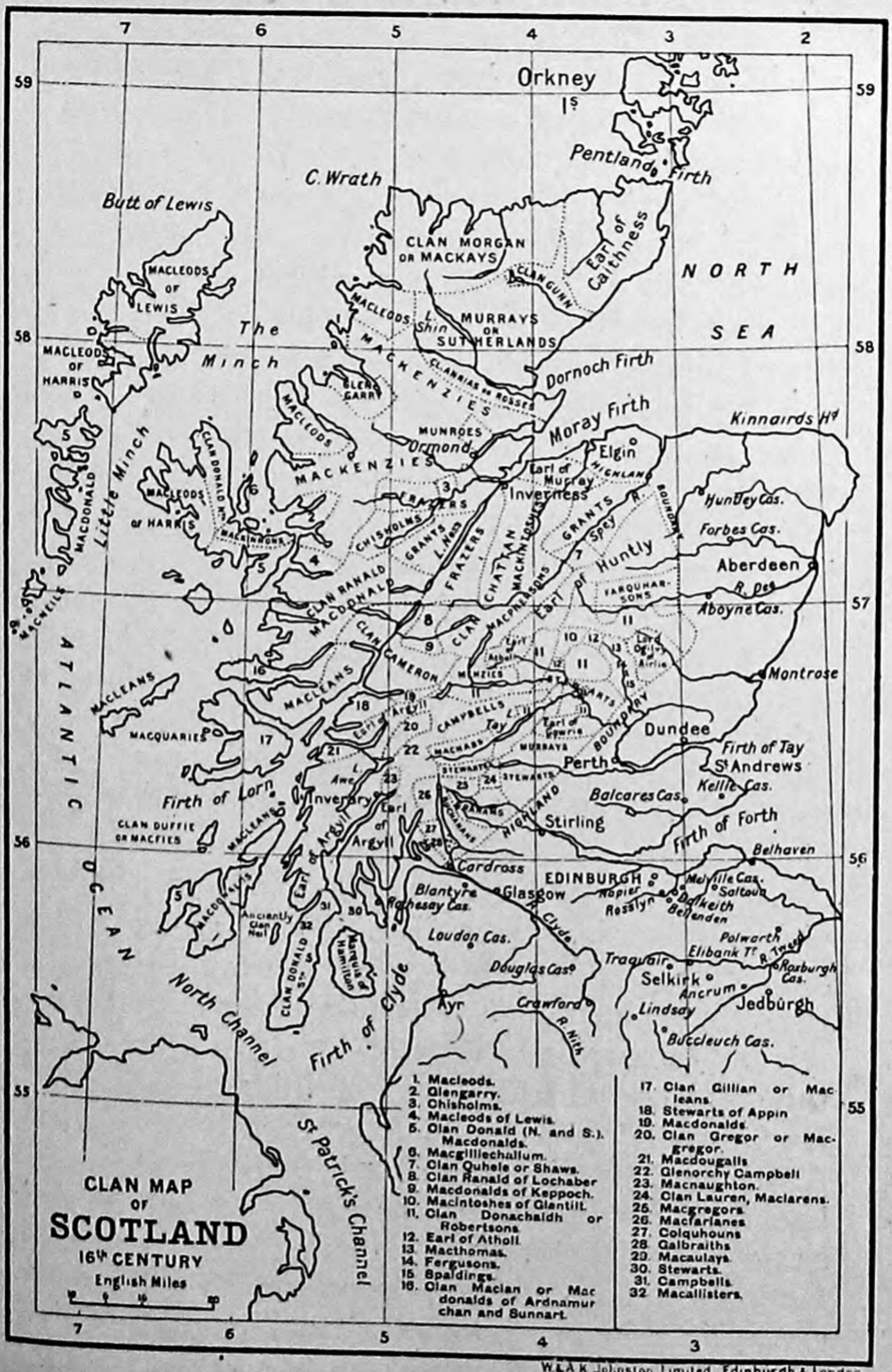
ministers. Because they would not publish the royal version of the affair they were removed from their churches. The bishops took their places in the Parliament which forfeited the Ruthvens.

7. *Witchcraft.*—In one interest alone were the contending parties agreed. King and Kirk joined hands in the discovery and punishment of witches. Such persons were believed to be in alliance with the

powers of evil, and so able to bring on their victims misfortunes, sickness, and even death. Two hundred witches and sorcerers of North Berwick were declared to have conspired to raise a storm to wreck James and his bride on their way home from Denmark. The Protestant Earl of Angus, who died young, apparently of consumption, was held to have been the victim of such black arts. The witch was discovered, tortured into confession, strangled, and burnt. This was the usual method with these unfortunates, both men and women. In one year twenty-four so-called witches were burned in Aberdeen alone, besides many elsewhere. Such an inhuman practice was common to Europe; but in Scotland, as in England, a charge of witchcraft was not punished with death till after the Reformation. Catholics and Protestants rivalled each other in the cruelties with which they pursued an imaginary offence. For a century and a half witch-burning was a repulsive feature of Scottish life.

8. *The 'Nameless Clan': The 'Fife Adventurers.'*—James, having secured the submission of the Catholic Earls of the north and east, and bound the chiefs to obedience, next turned his attention to the West Highlands. The Macdonald chiefs of Islay made one more attempt to recover some of their lost possessions, and were suppressed by Argyll as the royal Lieutenant. The Clan Macgregor had for many years been distinguished by their lawlessness and robbery. In the year 1603 they made a raid on Glenfruin, slew many of the Colquhouns, and cleared the townships of their cattle. This outrage was their ruin. The

JAMES VI, KING OF SCOTLAND



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THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS.

whole clan was declared outlaw. To bear the name of Macgregor became a crime. They survived only as the 'nameless clan.' James had even contemplated making an armed visit to the West Highlands and Isles, but was prevented by lack of money. An Act of Parliament in 1598 had ordered all chiefs and landlords to produce their titles to their lands. No rents were coming in to the Crown, and the natural riches of the north, such as the fisheries, were utterly neglected. The Macleods, who owned Lewis, being too busy fighting among themselves, failed to comply with the Act. The island was accordingly granted on easy terms to a number of gentlemen of Fife, known as the 'Fife Adventurers.' But far from help, and amid a hostile population, they failed in all their attempts to establish a settlement. A second set of 'venturers' did no better. They finally disposed of their rights to Mackenzie of Kintail, who in a short time made himself master of the island.

9. *Condition of the Country.*—In the south, too, violence had long prevailed. There was a 'flood of bloodshed and deadly feuds.' Slowly the country recovered from the disorder of the early part of the reign. James wisely devoted himself to reconciling the great houses which were enemies to each other. Much was gained by making friends of Huntly, Argyll, and Moray. Edinburgh, where rival families had frequent chances of meeting, was an ordinary scene of feudal skirmishes. James suppressed such factions by fines and imprisonment. He thus succeeded in bringing the restless nobility under better control. But both King and nobles suffered from the

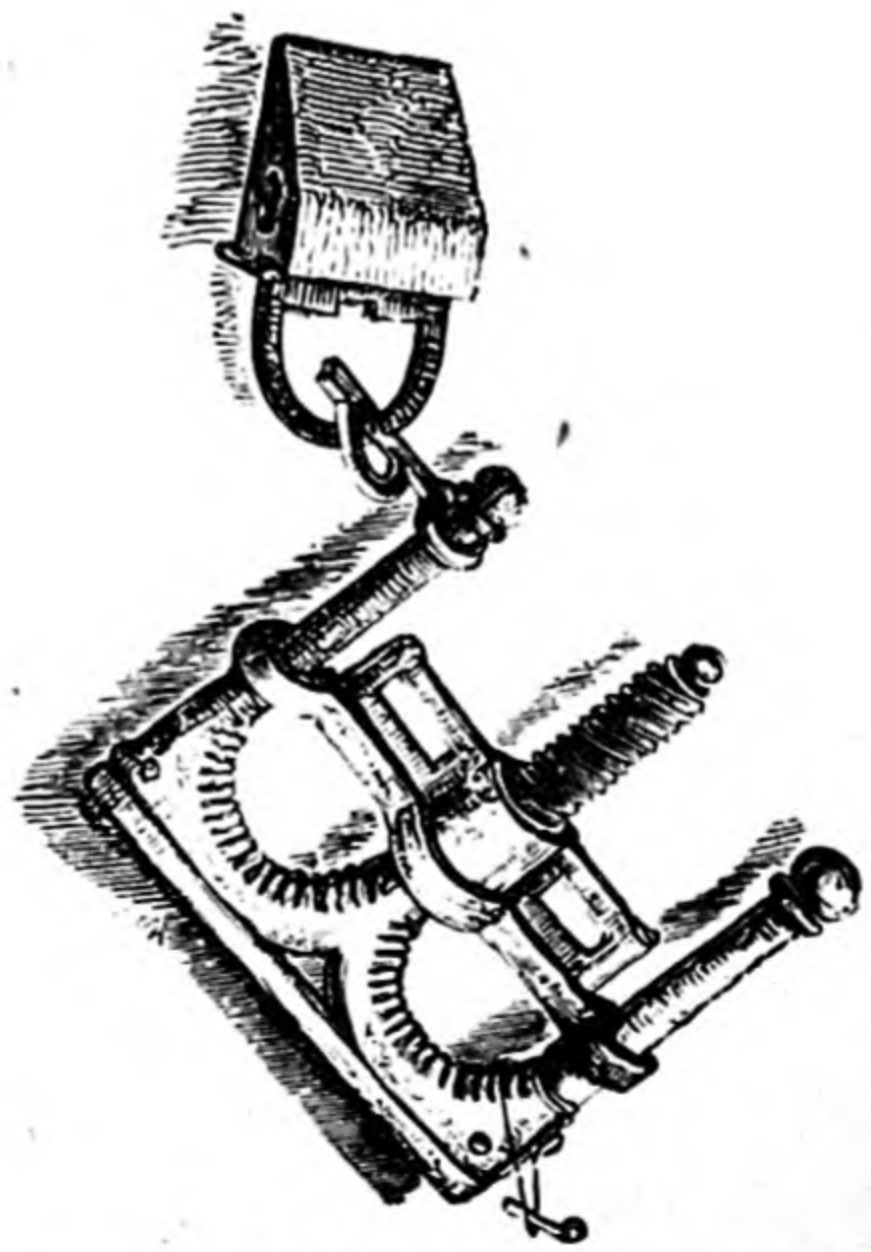
want of ready-money. James imposed a tax on imported goods. The nobles, being now more cultured and in the habit of going abroad, had developed expensive tastes. They desired finer furniture, richer dress, and daintier food. Gowrie House had a fair gallery of pictures. Thus they burdened their tenants with heavy rents, and for the same reason many of them were only too ready to take bribes from England or France, Protestant or Catholic. Yet in the ports trade was increasing, with France, Holland and the coasts of the Baltic. James used means to improve manufactures. Following the example of England, he introduced skilled workmen from abroad. Flemish weavers soon taught the Scots to turn out cloth of good enough quality to be largely exported. But trade had still its outside risks. English pirates watched the coasts. Thieves waylaid merchants on their journeys to the distant fairs at Montrose, Wigtown, and Berwick. There was no proper police. The central Government was still weak, and without fit means of enforcing the laws. The Scots had long been forced to rely upon themselves, and to hold their own. Thus, in large measure, came that 'freedom and liberty,' that 'pride and boasting of their nobility,' that hastiness and readiness to revenge, which other peoples attributed to them.

10. *Learning and Literature.*—James, himself a learned man and an author, was a patron of learning. A 'King's College' was founded at Edinburgh in 1582. Books were being printed and read in large numbers. But Scots as a literary language was disappearing. Scholars and even poets wrote

MAR SINGH COLLEGE

much in Latin. James, on going to England, changed his literary style from Scots to English. Educated men followed his example. Even John Knox had written his vivid *History of the Reformation* in a language that was rather English than Scots.

11. *James Becomes King of England.*—On a Saturday night, March 24, 1603, Sir Robert Carey rode up to Holyrood Palace with great news. Elizabeth was dead, and had named James as her successor. Thus peacefully the long-sought end was accomplished. An English King the Scots, rightly jealous of their independence, were not likely to accept. England could afford to be less sensitive. The delighted James promised to revisit his native land every three years. He was to reign for twenty-two years more, but during that time Scotland saw him only once.



THUMBIKINS FOR TORTURE: AT ABBOTSFORD.
Not used in Scotland before 1684.

CHAPTER XXV

THE FIRST EPISCOPACY: JAMES VI, AND I OF GREAT BRITAIN
PART III (1603-1625)

1. *Character and Ideals of James.*—The King whom Scotland had given to England was no kingly figure. His manners were not pleasant. 'He speaks, eats, dresses, and plays like a boor,' said a French agent. His natural ability was overweighted with learning. So confident was he of his own powers that he would argue at length with those who differed from them. If he could not convince in this way he would use any trickery to secure his purpose. He wished to reconcile extreme parties, but tried to do so by imposing his own will on all alike. True to his Scotch training, he had worked out a theory about his rights and powers as a King, and on this he always professed to act. He ruled, he held, by Divine choice, and was answerable for what he did to God only.* He stirred up a strong opposition in England, but in Scotland he brought his system near perfection. 'Here I sit,' he boasted, 'and govern it with my pen: I write, and it is done; and by the Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now—which others could not do by the sword.'

2. *The Union and the Borders.*—James was anxious to complete the union by having one Parliament for the two kingdoms, and throwing the English trade open to the Scots. To please the King, and for the sake of free trade, the Scots were willing to

* This theory was the fashionable one among the political writers of the time.

surrender their Parliament. But the English protested that in commerce the poorer nation would secure the best of the bargain, and the proposals dropped. Still, something was gained by a legal decision that all Scotsmen born after James's accession were citizens of both kingdoms, for which, as united, the King himself invented the title of Great Britain. The need for a frontier had thus disappeared. The Borders were now only the 'Middle Shires.' But it was hard for the Borderers on either side to settle down and abandon the lawless practices which had grown up through centuries of warfare. Thieving was the ordinary occupation of the neighbouring clans, who had been accustomed to pay little heed to their Kings. In the very week in which James began his gorgeous journey through England the Armstrongs of Liddesdale ravaged the North Country as far as Penrith. They found that times had changed. The captain of Berwick, with a force of Scots and English, entered their district and almost exterminated them. A company of mounted police was raised, and the 'moss-trooping' dalesmen received their lesson in 'Jeddart* justice: hang a man first, and try him afterwards.' Many of the smaller lairds, Kerrs, Elliots, and Maxwells, were sent into confinement for a time in the northern towns. The carrying of arms was forbidden. Restless spirits found employment in the foreign wars. Scott of Buccleuch relieved Teviotdale of many of his clan, whom he led abroad to fight for the new Dutch Republic against Spain.

* Jedburgh.

3. *The Estates and the General Assembly.*—James, as he truly said, ruled Scotland through the Privy Council, whose members he himself chose. The Estates were submissive. All the powers they possessed had long since passed to the Lords of the Articles. At their first meeting these were appointed. The Lords prepared the 'Articles,' or measures which were to become law. Parliament met once more to approve of these, and then dissolved. James introduced the practice of nominating the Lords of the Articles himself. Thus the Scottish Parliament became, not, like that of England, a popular council able to resist the King, but, like the Parliament of France, merely a court to register the royal decrees. The only public body not completely at his bidding was the General Assembly of the Kirk. As the bishops were once more one of the Estates, and so represented the Church, James even thought of doing away with the Assembly altogether. A 'free' General Assembly meeting annually in its own right was no part of his scheme of government. Its claim of Divine right to rule the Church did not fit in with James's idea of his own Divine right to rule in all things. 'A Scottish Presbytery,' he said, 'agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my Council, and all our proceedings.' And men who ruled the Church might naturally wish to rule the State. To James it seemed to be a case of 'No Bishop, no King.'

4. *James in Conflict with the Ministers.*—For two years James succeeded in preventing any meeting

of Assembly, a thing which had not happened since the Reformation. Then in the summer of 1605 nineteen ministers went through the form of holding an Assembly at Aberdeen. Later ten more joined them. They were all summoned before the Council for convoking the lieges without the royal permission. Thirteen only held their ground. They refused to recognize the Council as having power to judge them in a spiritual matter. For this James insisted that they should be brought to trial on a charge of high treason under the Act of 1584. Six were tried, and a jury bullied and threatened by the King's Advocate found them guilty. They were all banished abroad. The remaining seven were confined to Ireland and the Hebrides (1606). But there were others whom James wished to have out of the way. Earlier in the same year he had summoned to London eight of the leading Puritan ministers, including Andrew and James Melville, to consult upon 'the peace' of the Church. The King and his English Bishops failed to move them. The two Melvilles were, therefore, not allowed to go back to Scotland. Andrew, of bitter speech, was sent into exile on the Continent, and died as a professor in the Protestant College of Sedan. Their comrades were ordered not to go beyond their own parishes.

5. *James Completes his Episcopacy.*—By such means James cleared the way for the fulfilment of his plans. While the ministers were still in London the 'Red Parliament' met at Perth. It was so called from the scarlet cloaks of the nobles worn by the King's order—an old fashion that had gone out

in Scotland. This Parliament put on record that 'His Majesty's sovereign authority' extended 'over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever.' This meant the royal supremacy over the Church. As was said, James was to be Pope of Scotland as well as King. The same Parliament formally restored the Estate of Bishops, and repealed the Act annexing the property of the bishoprics to the Crown. This latter proposal had alarmed the nobles, who saw themselves threatened with the loss of some of their Church lands. But the shrewd King satisfied them by securing their rights, and even distributed among them more of the ecclesiastical estates. Meantime the bishoprics were filled up to the old number of thirteen. In successive Assemblies and Parliaments packed for the King, the powers of the bishops were extended. Two Courts of High Commission, each presided over by an Archbishop—St. Andrews and Glasgow—were formed to deal with offences 'in life and religion.' They were afterwards reduced to one. In the same year (1610) Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews and two others went to England, where they were consecrated by three English Bishops. They then performed the same service for their Scottish brethren. But the Presbyterian courts were not abolished. James was satisfied with their control by the bishops. As these were nominated by himself, he treated them simply as his tools in both Church and Parliament. They regarded themselves as peacemakers, and would do nothing to provoke further quarrel.

6. *Persecution of Catholics.*—During these years

the penal laws against Catholics were steadily enforced. James himself was prepared to allow their worship, but neither party in the Church would hear of such toleration. Moreover, in the Counter-Reformation the Catholic cause on the Continent was winning great successes, and for a time it looked as if the work of the Protestant Reformation would be undone. Catholics might refuse to acknowledge James as a heretic King. Thus, partly to defend himself and partly to please the Church, he kept the Courts active against them. There were still many Catholics in Scotland, especially in the Highlands and the south-western districts. In Huntly's country and in Caithness and Sutherland wandering priests and Jesuits openly said Mass. Fines, imprisonment, and banishment were used to suppress the offenders. One Jesuit, named Ogilvie, was seized at Glasgow. He refused to deny the spiritual supremacy of the Pope over the King, and was hanged for treason (1615).

7. *The Statutes of Iona* (1610).—The Western Isles were still unsettled. The Campbells of Argyll were quietly absorbing the old possessions of the Macdonalds, such as Kintyre. This led to successive risings by the Clandonald of the South, whose centre was Islay, and these were usually suppressed by Argyll to his own profit. The Scottish Council determined to deal with the situation on a large scale. A force of Scotch and English troops with a fleet assembled at Islay. It was commanded by Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, who was accompanied by Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles. They sailed to Mull, where the chiefs

had been summoned to meet the Royal Commissioners. Invited on board one of the royal vessels, these found that they had been trapped. With its precious burden of Macdonalds, Macleans, Macleods, etc., the vessel sailed to Ayr, whence the chiefs were distributed as prisoners in several castles. Released under conditions, they again met the Bishop in conference in Iona. There they entered into a bond of obedience to the King, and professed to accept 'the true religion.' They also engaged to observe certain 'statutes' or regulations now submitted. Churches were to be repaired, ministers obeyed, and their stipends regularly paid. The number of persons kept in the households of the chiefs was to be reduced. These with other 'idlers' were the fighting 'tail' of the chiefs; it was not the custom in the Highlands to employ in warfare the labourers on the land. Now no one was to be allowed to remain who could not support himself by some honest means. The wearing of arms was forbidden, as it had been on the Borders. And every chief and person of property was to send his eldest child to the Lowlands to be educated in English. In the following year the chiefs bound themselves to appear yearly before the Council. They were to be answerable for the good conduct of their clansmen and tenants. Later these statutes were renewed and extended. The chiefs were ordered to have fixed residences and take farms. All their children were to be sent to the Lowlands for their education. These ordinances, which aimed at removing the fighting 'idlers' of the Isles and turning the chiefs into farmers, certainly had a good effect. But the old

order changed slowly. The Campbells supplanted the Macdonalds in the South, and Islay, too, fell to their hands. They became the Government garrison in the West. Within a few years Cameron of Lochiel was almost the only Highland chief of importance still 'lying out' in disobedience to the royal authority.

8. *The Five Articles.*—In 1617 James paid his one visit to his ancient kingdom. He visited the chief towns, and was everywhere received with extravagant rejoicings. William Drummond, an accomplished Scottish poet, welcomed him in his poem *Forth Feasting* as 'A King of wonder, wonder unto Kings!' But he troubled the plain Presbyterians by his elaborate Church services. He was now bent on introducing into the Scottish Church certain practices borrowed from England. To an Assembly which met at Perth in 1618 five 'Articles' were submitted for acceptance. These were that the Communion should be taken kneeling; that in certain cases the Communion or Baptism might be administered in private; that young people should be confirmed by the Bishops; and that the Church festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, should be 'precisely observed.' James's high-handed methods moved even the bishops to offer resistance. But he declared that if the Articles were not passed he would impose them by his own authority. They were carried by a majority, and a few years later approved by the Estates on another 'Black Saturday' in Scottish history (1621).

9. *Feeling against the Articles.*—James had at last touched his northern subjects where they felt most sorely. To kneel at Communion was, in the

teaching of Knox and his successors, merely a form of idolatry. The Articles were 'the sound of the feet of Popery at the doors.' Worshippers refused to kneel as directed, and unseemly scenes took place at the services. Edinburgh set the example of popular resistance. On the festival days shops were kept open and the churches avoided. James stormed and threatened, but even the bishops were half-hearted in the business. The Court of High Commission suspended disobedient ministers. Burgesses who would not conform were imprisoned or removed from the town. Archbishop Spottiswoode dreaded the result of such extreme dealings. 'For our Church matters,' he wrote, 'they are gone unless another course be taken.' But James was not to be moved, and held his course till he died in 1625. He had reigned over Scotland for fifty-eight years, the only one of his line for two hundred years who lived out his full term and died in peace.

10. *The Scot Abroad.*—Scotland was still a poor country with few opportunities at home for her enterprising sons. With the Union, England was opened to them, and crowds of Scots followed their King to that country. He was pestered with demands for places and gifts. His favours to many of them made the Scots most unpopular with the English, who saw their old enemies enriched at their expense.

'Bonny Scot, we all witness can
That England hath made thee a gentleman.'

The Scottish Privy Council had at last to forbid their countrymen crossing the Tweed without per-

mission. But the pushful Scot had long been a familiar figure all over Europe. Wandering scholars and teachers went round the schools and Universities. Of such were George Buchanan, poet and latinist, and Andrew Melville. Scotch pedlars and merchants were everywhere—settled in towns or attending the great fairs. Holland was full of them ; they were plentiful in Prussia ; but specially they flourished in Poland. In that wide country there was no native trading class, and the Scots supplied it. They numbered at the most quite 30,000 persons. And this emigration had been going on since the end of the fifteenth century. The main cause was the poverty and poor chances of the home country. The oft-recurring famines, too, drove many abroad. Scotland was poorly cultivated, and lived from hand to mouth. Such a 'scarcity' forced James VI on one occasion to command an emigration. The wars and religious troubles also made exiles. Then the clannish Scots, when comfortably settled, sent for their relatives and friends to join them. Even lads of fifteen or seventeen crowded to the Prussian ports to seek the fortunes denied them at home. But an attempt to settle a New Scotland in North America between French Canada and New England was not successful. The name alone survives in Nova Scotia. There was a larger migration to the confiscated lands of the rebellious Irish chiefs in Ulster, where a thriving community of Scots and English displaced the native population.

11. *The Scots in the Thirty Years' War.*—In the great Continental wars adventurous Scots always

found ready employment. The 'Scots Guard' of France had, it is true, ceased to be Scottish, as with the Union the countries had drawn apart. There was, however, a strong Scots Brigade in the army of the young Dutch Republic. Sweden, Denmark and Russia, too, had their Scottish soldiers, many in high position. When the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) developed into a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant Princes of the German States, great numbers of Scots filled up the Protestant ranks. James and his successor Charles were involved in this war, and most of the men whom they furnished were from the northern kingdom. The levy of 1626-1627 raised 12,000 men for foreign service. Almost as many were despatched a few years later. For most they were of decent but poor families, and were usually commanded by the younger sons of nobles and lairds, or, in the case of the Highlanders, by sons of the chiefs. Not a few, however, were idlers, 'masterless men,' and lawbreakers, compelled to serve. Thus there were thirteen regiments of Scots under the great Protestant leader Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, besides many officers in other regiments. There were few Scottish homes without a personal interest in the war.

'First they took my brothers twain,
Then wiled my love from me;
Oh, woe unto these cruel wars
In low Germanie!'

The return of so many trained men to their own country was to be of the greatest importance in the years to come.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NATIONAL COVENANT: CHARLES I
PART I (1625-1638)

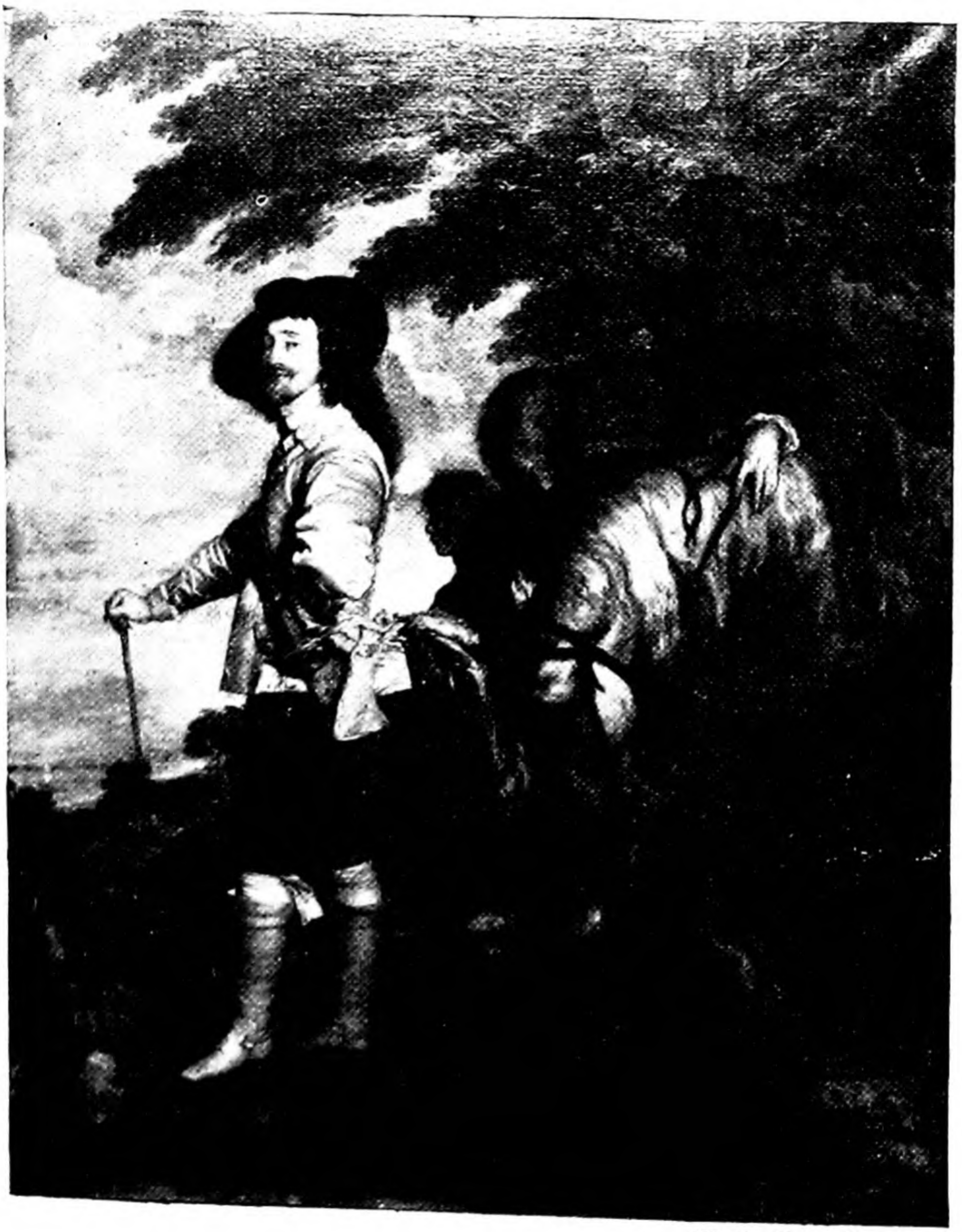
1. *The Country Unsettled.*—To James VI succeeded his son Charles, a man of a very different type. He was dignified in appearance, and in manner retiring and silent. From his father he took over a war with Spain, as well as a share in the religious conflict in Germany, and to these he himself soon added a brief war with France. As the English Parliament gave him scanty supplies, Charles turned to Scotland. There was no lack of men, as we have seen, but of money there was little to be got. The Estates had to plead 'the known poverty of the country by the calamity of some hard years.' Money had to be laid out, too, in maintaining a 'fleet' of three ships, and fortifying the coast against a possible invasion from Spain. In a few years the Scottish exchequer was empty. And through the unsettlement of the wars Scottish commerce was suffering. For a time the profitable wine trade with France was stopped. Provisions were dear, and in certain years the export of victuals had to be forbidden. Meantime the magistrates of the towns still exercised control over the prices of goods. In Cupar, Fife, the craftsmen refused to sell at the prices which the magistrates put upon their boots and shoes: materials had grown dearer. The magistrates committed them to prison. They appealed to the Privy Council, as Scotsmen in difficulties always did. But the Council upheld the action of the town officials,

and sent the rebellious craftsmen back to prison till they should promise obedience. Later in the reign the Town Council of Edinburgh was being called upon to do something to keep down the prices of all sorts of articles in the town. Trade in Scotland was still in fetters. There was, too, the everlasting trouble about foreign coins and bad money. And there were fresh outbreaks of disorder in the Highlands among Gordons and roaming Macgregors, and on the Borders. Charles was too busy in the South to give these districts the constant attention which they needed.

2. *The Great Revocation.*—Charles, too, held fast to his father's ideas about the royal supremacy, and he was even more sincere in his interest in Church affairs. He was a devoted Episcopalian, believing that government of the Church by bishops was of Divine origin, just as Presbyterians believed the same thing about government by presbyteries. He opened his reign with a Revocation, 'the most ample that ever was made.' In one sweeping proclamation he revoked all gifts of Church lands as well as of teinds, or tithes, that had been made since the Reformation. At once there was commotion and indignation among the noble holders of such property. Charles fined down his Revocation to apply only to what had been first annexed to the Crown, and then granted out to its present possessors. These surrendered their rights with a bad grace. Charles's intentions were to recover for the Crown as much as he could of the old ecclesiastical property, and to make a suitable provision for the Church. After proceedings which lasted

over many years the nobles retained their lands on payment of certain rents to the Crown. Since the Reformation the Church had existed on what was left over by the State of a tax of one-third on the confiscated property. It was too little, and James had added a share of the teind. Now the whole of the teind was set aside for the support of the Church in the first instance, and those who lost thereby received compensation. The teind was valued at one-fifth of the rent. This settlement of the Church revenues prevented future troubles, and holds good to the present day. But Charles had lost the confidence of the nobles. They no longer felt secure in their gains, and became suspicious of every action of the King. The Revocation was said by a statesman of the time to be 'the ground-stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to this King's Government and family.'

3. *The Nobles and the Bishops.*—The breach between Charles and the Scottish nobles was further widened by his attempts to limit their rights as hereditary judges in their own domains, and still more by the preference he showed for the bishops. The prelates were not likely to oppose the royal will. Five of the thirteen were admitted to the Privy Council, and this number was afterwards increased to nine. Charles also wished them to be regarded, in the old fashion, as the First Estate of the Realm. The Scottish Primate, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was to take higher place even than the Chancellor. At the Coronation ceremony the Chancellor, Lord Kinnoul, absolutely refused to allow this, saying that 'never a stoled priest in Scotland should set



W. A. Mansell & Co.

CHARLES I (1600–1649).

From the portrait by Van Dyck in the Louvre.

a foot before him as long as his blood was hot.' The blood of the Scottish nobles was usually hot. On Kinnoul's death in 1635, Archbishop Spottiswoode was appointed Chancellor—the first churchman to hold that office in Scotland since the Reformation.

4. *Charles in Scotland.*—In June, 1633, Charles visited Scotland, and was crowned in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. The Scottish gentry spent more than they could afford in their patriotic efforts to outshine the King's brilliant train of Englishmen. Notable among these was Bishop Laud, the royal adviser in all religious matters. But even moderate Scotsmen were troubled in mind by the elaborate services and ceremonial adopted in the 'Abbey Church and in St. Giles's. There was 'great fear of inbringing of Popery,' the constant terror of the Scottish mind. Charles also presided at a meeting of Estates. The Lords of the Articles were chosen in such a way as to give the direction of business to the 'Episcopal and Court faction.' The nobles chose eight bishops, who in turn chose eight nobles. The prelates were not likely to select their unfriends, and they themselves were all King's men. These sixteen then chose the eight barons of the shires and the eight burgesses. Charles added as many of the royal officials, these having always sat in the Parliament in virtue of their office. The Act of Revocation was then approved, the royal supremacy again affirmed, and power given to the King to prescribe a fitting dress for the clergy when engaged in Divine service. Charles might have been warned by the strong opposition which was shown,

a new thing in a meeting of the Estates, but he would not listen, and tried to overawe it.

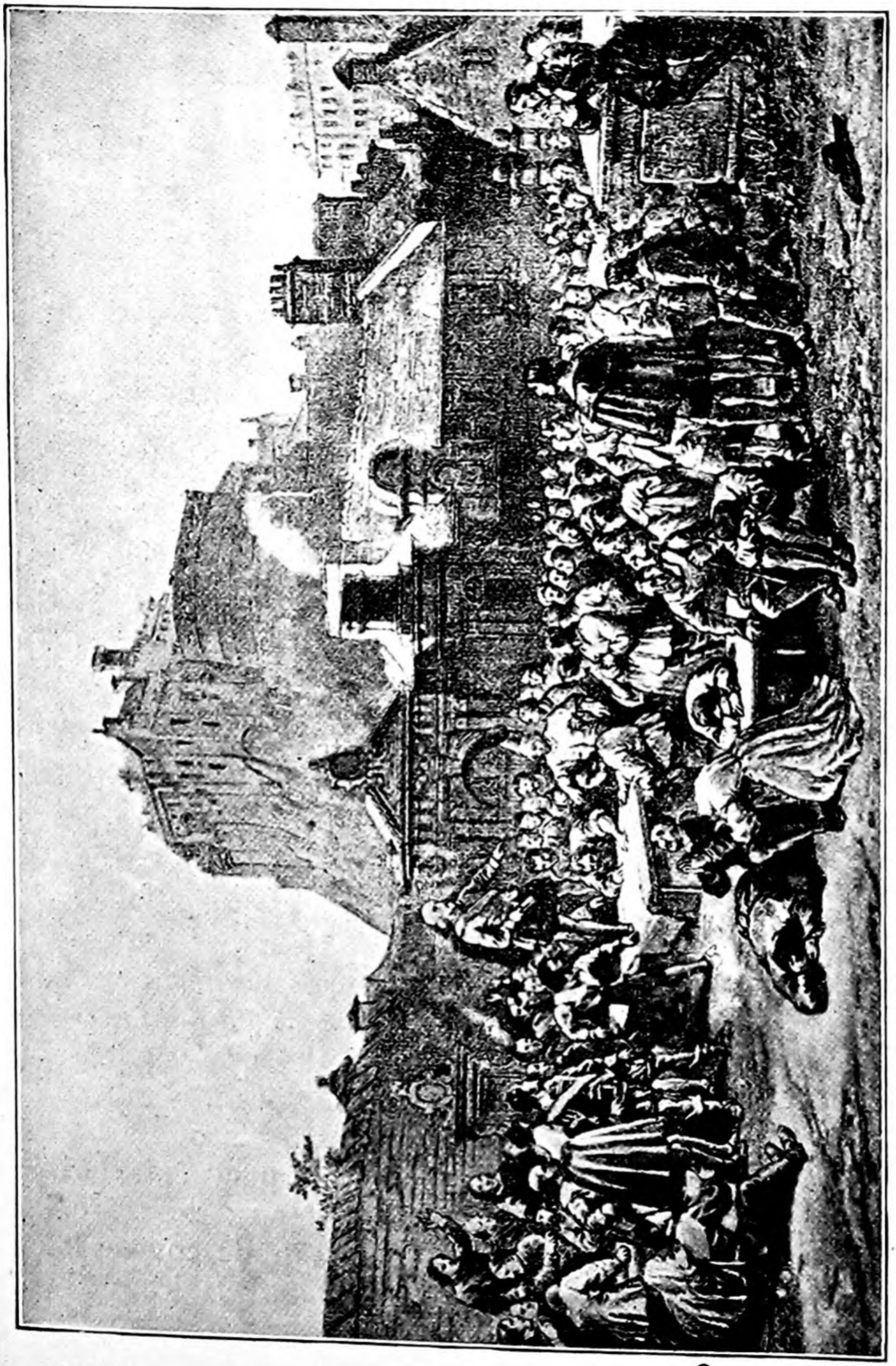
5. *The Book of Canons and the Liturgy.*—In fact, the King and Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, had one object in view—to secure a uniform manner of public worship in all congregations, after the English model. First came a direction for the use of 'whites'—that is, surplices—by the clergy. Charles was now acting entirely on the strength of his supreme power. His supporters in Scotland were the younger bishops who had been appointed by himself. On his own authority, too, he issued a *Book of Canons*, or ecclesiastical laws, which reimposed the Articles of Perth with additions. All who ventured to oppose the royal will were to be excommunicated, and excommunication brought in its train the penalties of the law. Two years later (1637) appeared the promised Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, also issued solely on the royal warrant. It was to take the place of the Scottish Liturgy in use since the days of Knox, which was little more than a guide or model to be followed as the minister thought fit. The new Liturgy was framed on the English service-book, and was the work of some of the Scottish Bishops and of Laud. This at once brought it into evil repute. Laud was suspected of sympathy with Rome. The new Prayer-Book would just be the Mass over again. The Book of Canons had, even before it was published, threatened punishment to such as should refuse to accept it. The dreaded volume made its appearance in St. Giles's on July 23, 1638. It was met by an instant outbreak among 'the common

people, especially the women.' A stool was thrown at the Dean's head.* The church was cleared of the rioters, and the service went on to the accompaniment of breaking windows and beaten doors. The Bishop of Edinburgh† and his friends were mobbed in the street; there was plenty to throw at them, and the wrathful crowd did not spare. Similar feelings were shown elsewhere. In Glasgow the women were as ready for violence as their Edinburgh sisters.

6. *The National Covenant* (1638).—All the varied dissatisfaction with Charles's rule now gathered round the Liturgy. The nobles, the Puritan clergy, and the mass of the people had found a bond of union. The Council was divided in its sympathies and helpless; lords and bishops distrusting each other. The King, when appealed to, sent down vain proclamations. The Liturgy must be enforced, and the ringleaders of the riots punished. In return, petitions or 'supplications' against the Service-Book poured in upon the Council. All blame and abuse was heaped upon the bishops. They, it was said, had 'misinformed' the King. Edinburgh was crowded with excited 'supplicants.' To attend to their interests they chose a body composed, after the model of the Lords of the Articles, of four members from each order—nobles, lairds, ministers, and burgesses. Charles in a fresh proclamation ordered the supplicants to cease from their actions, and disperse under pain of treason. The response

* This is the action attributed by tradition to a certain Jenny Geddes. There were no pews in the churches.

† Charles had recently made Edinburgh a bishopric.



SIGNING THE COVENANT IN GREYFRIARS CHURCHYARD.

took the old Scottish form of a general band. The Covenant of 1581, which condemned all Catholic teaching and ceremonies, was revived, and to this additions were made, asserting that the late 'innovations and evils' were 'contrary to the Articles of the foresaid Covenant,' and binding all who subscribed to resist them, and defend the 'true religion,' and to stand by each other in doing so. At the same time it was declared that there was no intention of doing anything to lessen the King's authority. The Covenant was mainly the work of an able lawyer, Archibald Johnstone, afterwards Lord Warriston Written out on 'a fair parchment above an ell* square,' it was read to the assembled barons and gentry in the Old Greyfriars Church of Edinburgh on the afternoon of the last day of February, 1638, and signed by as many as could do so ere it became too dark. Next day 300 ministers added their names. Those who had 'doubts' were brought over by the lords. The representatives of the burghs followed. Copies of the original document were then made, and sent far and wide over the country. Names poured in. So strong was public feeling that few could venture to refuse to sign. Only in Aberdeen and Angus did the Covenant meet with opposition, and the clans of the west had no part in it. Otherwise the movement was a popular one in which the nobles took the lead. To the objection that bands had by many Acts of Parliament been declared illegal, it was answered that this was 'not a private league of any degree of subjects among themselves, but a public covenant

* The Scots yard.

of the collective body of the kingdom with God, for God and the King.' The name 'supplicants' now gave place to 'Covenanters.' The bishops, except four, fled to England.

7. *An Assembly at Glasgow defies the King.*—In face of a nation thus united Charles's stubborn attitude could not be maintained. He declared himself ready to yield on all points but the existence of Episcopacy. To save the bishops he gave up the Liturgy. Parliament and a General Assembly were to be summoned. The Assembly, the first for twenty years, met towards the end of 1638 in the Cathedral of Glasgow. The Marquis of Hamilton attended as Royal Commissioner. The bishops entered a protest against the presence of laymen, and because laymen had had the main share in the election of the ministers. It was thus not a proper ecclesiastical body. The debate ended in Hamilton dissolving the Assembly in the King's name. The members refused to leave, and continued the sittings. The Liturgy, the Book of Canons, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Court of High Commission were condemned, and all the bishops deposed.

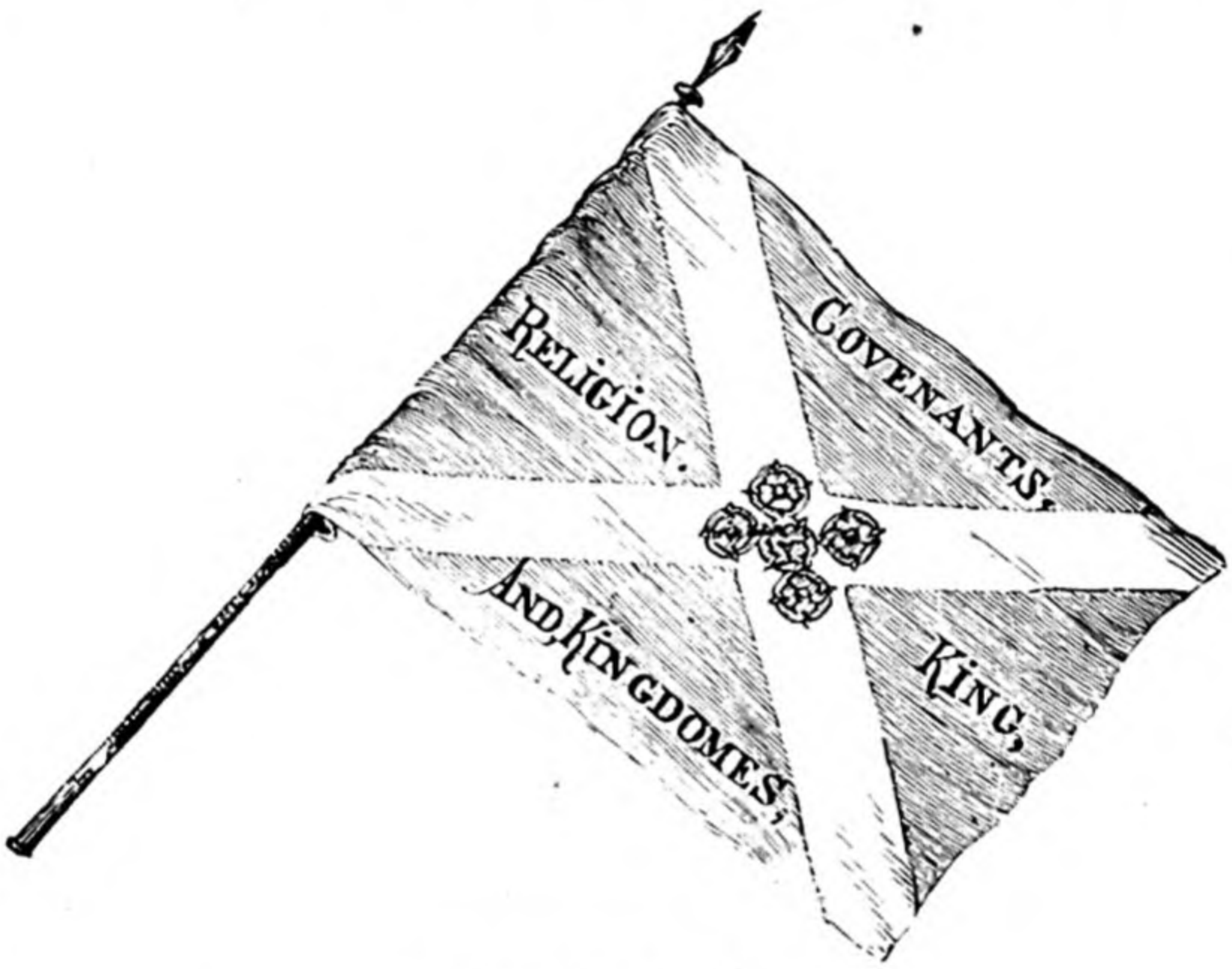
CHAPTER XXVII

THE WARS OF THE COVENANT: CHARLES I
PART II (1639-1649)

1. *The First Bishops' War* (1639).—The action of the Assembly was, of course, a clear challenge to the King. Scotland had broken loose. Both sides

SRI PRATAP COLLEGE LIBRARY,
SRINAGAR.

had already begun to prepare for war. The Covenanters had secured a valuable recruit in Field-Marshal Alexander Leslie of the Swedish service, 'an old, crooked little soldier.' He was a relative of a leading Covenanter, the Earl of Rothes, and had introduced the Covenant to the Scottish



COVENANTERS' FLAG.

White St. Andrew's Cross on blue ground.

soldiers in Germany. As Gustavus was dead, and the war seemed to be near an end, large numbers of these came home. They now found employment in drilling the 'stout young ploughmen' who formed the bulk of the Covenanting army. Blue was the Covenanting colour—blue caps and blue ribbons.

'Jockey with his bonnet blue
Both Crown and Sceptre would subdue.'

So the case seemed to a Royalist ballad-maker in England, and to the King's party in general. Yet

Charles had the greatest difficulty in collecting an army. Most of the English people were in sympathy with the Scots. In Scotland the Royalist leaders were the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Huntly—who had been bred a Protestant—both half-hearted and incapable. The Covenanters got possession of the principal castles. Then, while the young Earls of Argyll and Montrose (James Graham), soon to be rival Marquises, watched Aberdeenshire and the West, Leslie led a splendid army to the Border. Charles, with the levies of the Northern counties untrained, starving, and mutinous, lay at Berwick. To fight the Scots was hopeless. Again Charles gave way, and a 'Pacification' was made. Both armies were to be disbanded, and affairs in Scotland were to be settled by a new Parliament and a new General Assembly

THE COVENANT IS MADE COMPULSORY

2. *A Revolutionary Parliament.*—The Assembly met first, and as Charles had disowned 'the pretended Assembly' of Glasgow, it 'acted over at a gallop' all that had there been done. To save his royal rights Charles now sacrificed the bishops. The Parliament had thus to deal with the fact that there was no longer a 'spiritual Estate.' This would prove a serious loss of power to the Crown. Charles suggested the selection of an equal number of Presbyterian ministers; Montrose that the Crown should nominate as many laymen. Both proposals were rejected, so that the majority of the Lords of the Articles fell to the barons of the shires and the

burgesses, sixteen votes to eight. Charles, on the plea that the religious revolution was becoming political, and that 'the frame of government' was being altered, prorogued the Parliament 'without its own consent,' which was contrary to custom. War had actually begun again when, in the summer of 1640, the Parliament met without royal authority—being thus, strictly, but a Convention of the Estates. An Act was passed excluding churchmen from Parliament, and declaring the Three Estates to be Nobles, Barons, and Burgesses. Royal officials were deprived of their right to sit unless elected. The Lords of the Articles as such were abolished. Parliament was to meet at least once every three years. The laws in favour of Episcopacy were repealed, and Presbyterian government of the Church restored. Finally, in agreement with an Act of the Assembly, it was commanded that the Covenant should be 'subscribed by all His Majesty's subjects of what rank and quality soever, under all civil pains.' So was accomplished what was rightly said to be 'the real greatest change at one blow that ever happened to this Church and State these 600 years by-past.' Meantime a Committee of the Estates, known as the 'Conservators of Peace,' was chosen to exercise the powers of Parliament when not sitting.

3. *The Second Bishops' War* (1640).—To annul the Acts establishing Episcopacy did not suit Charles's intentions. His policy was to gain time until a change of public feeling should allow of the bishops being restored in accordance with these Acts. The appeal was again to the sword. General

Munro, with an armed force, went north to compel the people of Aberdeen and the neighbourhood to sign the Covenant. Argyll did the same in Angus, Badenoch, and Lochaber. Leslie led a fresh army to the Border. Charles was penniless, and begging money from Spain and the Pope. His troops were a rabble. Leslie crossed the Tweed, Montrose entering the water first and leading his regiment across. Newcastle was occupied, and the coal-supply of London cut off. The presence of a victorious Scottish army served the purpose of the English Puritans. Charles was forced to summon the Long Parliament, which had him at its mercy. Laud was sent to the Tower, and in a few years to the block. All the demands of the Scots were granted. The English Royalists laid the blame of their defeat on the King's untrustworthy friends in Scotland—Hamilton, who looked first to his own 'self-preservation,' and Huntly, a mere 'skulker,' with others who were Covenanters at heart.

'We feared not the Scots from the Highland nor Lowland;
Though some of their leaders did craftily brave us,
With boasting long service in Russia and Poland,
And with their fierce breeding under Gustavus.

Nor their tales of their Combats, more strange than Romances,
Nor Sandy's screw'd Cannon* did strike us with wonder;
Nor their Kettle-Drums sounding before their long Lances,
But Scottish Court-whispers struck surer than Thunder.'

4. *Charles in Scotland* (1641).—The Scots had concluded their wars with full success just when

* Light guns 'of white iron tinned and done about with leather and corded,' introduced by Alexander Hamilton, a famous Scots artillerist.

the King and his English Parliament were drawing towards a like struggle for supremacy. In the circumstances Charles thought that the Scots in gratitude would give him their support, or at least refrain from interference. He therefore went down to Scotland in 1641. There the Government was now wholly in the hands of the Estates under their new constitution, and Charles was met with a further demand that they should have a voice in the selection of the royal officials. To this he could not but agree. The lands of the bishops had been mostly divided among the Covenanting leaders, who were thus repaid for the expense they had been put to in carrying on the war. Of these leaders Argyll was now the chief. Montrose was a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. Ever since the Parliament of 1640 he had been uneasy at the march of events. Bishops he cared not for, but the attacks on the royal power seemed to lead to the supremacy of the nobles associated with the Kirk. He himself was being overshadowed by Argyll. He had a vision of his own—a 'temperate Government' with the impossible Charles at its head. Having entered into correspondence with the King, which was a breach of the Covenant, he with some friends was sent to prison. Charles, however, failed to set the Scots against England, while by the favour he showed to the Covenanters he displeased his friends. A rising in Ireland suddenly called him away. He had created Argyll a Marquis and old Leslie Earl of Leven, and secured the release of Montrose and his comrades. But he left the Covenanting party masters of Scotland.

FIRST MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

From the original in the possession of the Duke of Argyll.

THE COVENANT IS EXTENDED TO ENGLAND AND IRELAND

5. *The Solemn League and Covenant* (1643).—When Charles refused to hand over to Parliament the control of the militia, the military forces of England, the Civil War broke out. Both sides made an appeal to the Scots for aid. They had no further cause of quarrel with the King, but a new prospect was now opened up. The Long Parliament abolished Episcopacy. To the Scottish Presbyterians this was the dawn of a 'new reformation'—that is, the establishment of their own Presbyterian system in the sister kingdoms. They were to force their Church upon England, who had taken up arms because the English Church was being forced on themselves. Moreover, the past tactics of Charles had convinced them that his success in England would mean the restoration of the old state of things in Scotland. It was known, too, that the loyal Montrose was pressing on Charles a proposal to raise a Scottish army on his behalf. But Montrose was regarded by the English Royalists as an adventurer, and his advice was not followed. A Convention of the Estates met, and, supported by the General Assembly, concluded with the English Parliament a treaty known as the *Solemn League and Covenant*. Its chief value for the Scots was that it provided for 'the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches,' with 'the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy,' and all other differences in religion. This they read to mean the

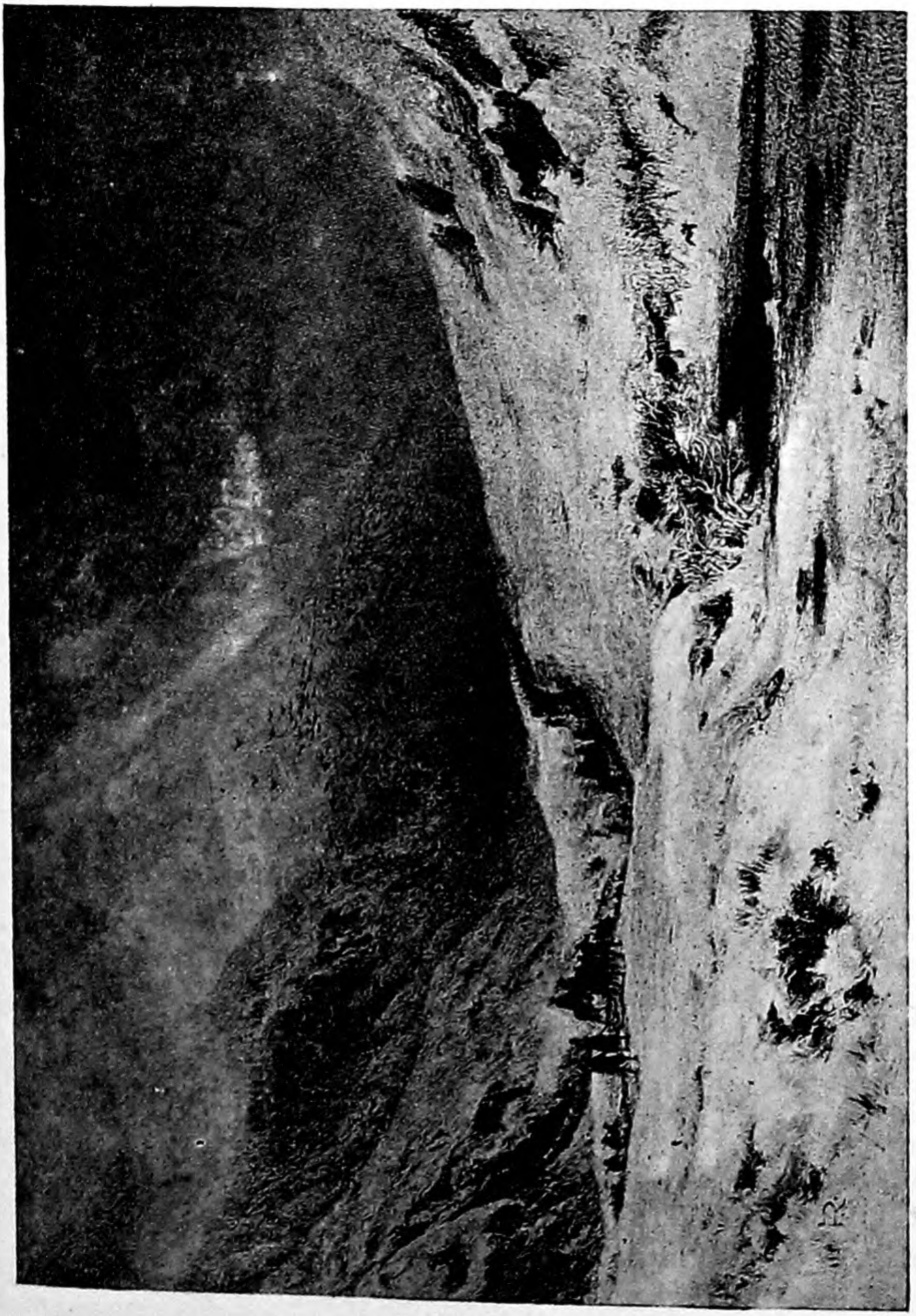
JAMES, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

From the portrait in the possession of Lord Panmure.

full adoption of Scottish Presbyterianism. The new Covenant all Scots, again, were to sign under threat of punishment for refusal. In terms of the League a Scottish army under the Earl of Leven and his nephew, David Leslie, marched into England, and by helping to win the Battle of Marston Moor (1644), in Yorkshire, ruined the King's cause, where it was strongest, in the North.

6. *The Year of Montrose* (1644-1645).—In Scotland, however, that cause now flashed up in a brief but brilliant career of success. Charles at last gave a free hand to Montrose, now a Marquis. He was joined at Perth by a roving force of 1,200 Macdonalds from Ireland, mostly of Highland descent. With their help he defeated the Covenanting army at Tippermuir. His hope was in the Gordons, but the jealous Huntly would have nothing to do with him, and few of his clan took the field. Another defeat of the Covenanters at Aberdeen left that city open to a merciless sacking by the Irish. The opening of the new year found the Macdonalds in the heart of Argyll's country, harrying the Campbells, the old enemies of their clan. At Inverlochy they cut to pieces the army of the unwarlike Earl. The chances of plunder brought to Montrose's side many of the local Macdonalds, Camerons, and homeless Macgregors; and fear of him, the wavering Earl of Seaforth* (Mackenzie), who had taken the Covenant. Victories at Auldearn, Alford, Dundee, and Kilsyth destroyed the Covenanting resistance. Montrose's

* Seaforth, however, reverted on the advance of the Covenanting army and fought against Montrose at Auldearn. Finally he settled down as a Royalist.



THE PASSAGE OF MONTROSE IN WINTER INTO ARGYLL.

From a painting by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A.

rapid success had been due to his swiftness of movement, his readiness on the field of battle, and the blunders of the Generals opposed to him. But the Highlanders who had been his strength were also his weakness. They retired with the plunder, which was their pay. The Macdonalds visited Cantyre to pay off other old scores on the Campbells. Montrose went south on the strength of promises from the Border Royalists, the Earls of Home and Roxburgh. They played him false. Leven sent up from England 4,000 mounted men under General David Leslie. On a misty September morning they surprised Montrose with about a fourth of their number at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, and inflicted a total defeat (1645). The campaign had been marked by much cruelty on both sides. The Irish gave no quarter: 'they killed men ordinarily with no more feeling of compassion, and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hen or a capon for supper.' The defeats of the Covenanting armies had been massacres. In return the Estates had put a price on the head of Montrose. After Philiphaugh the helpless camp-followers, mainly women and children, were butchered by Leslie's soldiers. The Irish prisoners suffered the same fate. The captured officers were hanged at Edinburgh; and the Macdonalds, caught in the fortress of Dunaverty, Kintyre, were forced to surrender, and slain to a man. Montrose was allowed to retire to the Continent, but he had made himself the best-hated man in Scotland.

7. *Charles with the Scottish Army.*—Three months before Philiphaugh the Royalist army in England

had suffered a crushing defeat at Naseby. Soon no army was left. Again Charles turned to the Scots. Disguised as a groom, he rode into their camp at Newark, only to find himself a prisoner. Negotiations were opened between the King and the English and Scots Commissioners. But Charles would not give up the Church of England or the control of the militia, both of which he regarded as necessary to the monarchy. Nor would he sign the Covenant whereby he would justify the Scottish 'rebellions,' and 'lay a foundation for such pastimes in time to come.' But without the establishment of Presbyterianism in England the Scots would not support him, ready as they were to do so. No agreement was possible. The Scottish army was paid for its services in England, and the King was transferred to the representatives of the English Parliament. 'Sold their King for a groat' was how the deed was described by the Royalists.

8. *The Engagement* (1648).—Charles's hopes revived with the quarrel that now developed between the Parliament and the victorious army under Oliver Cromwell, the greatest cavalry soldier of modern times. The army was composed mainly of 'Independents,' who wished that all, except Catholics, should be allowed to worship as they pleased. The Parliament would establish a Presbyterian Church, not, however, in the independent Scottish form, but subject to its own control. The Scots declared that the Covenant had not been observed, and a reaction began in favour of the King. A secret agreement was made with him at Carisbrooke Castle by three Scottish commissioners, of whom

the chief was the Earl of Lauderdale, a descendant of the House of Maitland of Thirlestane and Queen Mary's secretary. The others were the Lord Chancellor the Earl of Loudoun. and the Earl of Lanark, Hamilton's brother-in-law. The Covenant was to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and so made legal, and Presbyterianism was to be tried in England for three years. The Scots on their side were to send an army to restore the King. Though the Assembly fiercely opposed this 'Engagement' as a violation of the Covenant, the elections gave the Engagers a majority in the Estates. Hamilton triumphed over Argyll. A fresh army was raised, the Kirk doing its best to keep back men from joining. A poorly-equipped force with quarrelsome leaders, commanded by the incapable Duke of Hamilton, entered England to aid the King in the *Second Civil War*. At Preston it was cut up by Cromwell's dragoons, and chased, distracted, powderless, and starving, back to Scotland. There the Western Covenanters, now known as *Whiggamores*, or Whigs, had risen to support the Church. They occupied Edinburgh and Stirling. Argyll and the two Leslies put themselves at their head. Hamilton was Cromwell's prisoner. The Committee of Estates gave in, and the remnant of the army of the Engagement was disbanded.

9. *The Kirk Supreme.*—Thus the Kirk and the Assembly had triumphed. Cromwell entered Edinburgh with a body of horse, which he left for the protection of the Anti-Engagers. His understanding with the party of Argyll and Warriston was that all supporters of the King should be excluded from

office. There was no other way of dominating the country. The Engagement had shown a serious division in the Covenanting ranks. Even ministers had revolted, and all who had refused to preach against that undertaking were now deposed and forced from their livings. A 'Whiggamore Parliament,' which few nobles attended, passed the *Act of Classes* (1649). The Engagers, or Royalists, or 'Malignants,' were divided into three 'classes,' and these were excluded from Parliament and all offices of State or public trust of any sort—the leaders permanently, the others for ten or five years, according to the extent of their offence. No one was in any case to be admitted without first satisfying the Church. Patronage, or the right of the landowner to appoint a minister, was also abolished, and the election given to presbyteries and congregations. The Act of Classes brought even the proud nobles to their knees. Most of them were only too eager to profess their repentance in public, and be reconciled with the Church. Chancellor Loudoun went through this ordeal in tears before an Edinburgh congregation. The churches were crowded with 'mock penitents' of humbler station. This humiliation was not to be forgotten. But all eyes soon turned on England, where a Scottish Sovereign was again undergoing a trial before a special court. On January 30, 1649, Charles was executed in front of Whitehall Palace, under protest from the Scottish Commissioners against a peace having 'its foundation laid in the blood of the King.' Some months later the Duke of Hamilton suffered the same fate, and in

Scotland the Marquis of Huntly was beheaded in Edinburgh.

10. *The Westminster Assembly.*—The struggle against a royal despotism had left Scotland with a more powerful Parliament than had ever existed in its history, and an even more powerful General Assembly. There was one other more lasting result. Since the days of the Solemn League an Assembly of Divines, with some Scottish members, had sat at Westminster preparing articles which should set forth the Puritan doctrine. This was embodied in a Confession of Faith, and the 'Larger' and 'Shorter' Catechisms, which were adopted by the General Assembly in 1647, ratified by the Estates two years later, and remain to this day in national use. The popularity of these writings and of the revised English version of the Bible completed the work of destroying the old Scots as a literary language. Scots became a dialect left to poets and the poor.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SCOTLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-1660)

1. *The Scots Proclaim Charles II.*—It took five days for the news of the King's execution to reach Edinburgh. So ended the brief alliance between Independents and Anti-Engagers. In England the Army ruled, in Scotland the Kirk. But the Covenanters had always protested their loyalty, and did not wish to give up the monarchy, which the English Parliament presently abolished. On February 5 Prince Charles was therefore proclaimed King at the

Cross of Edinburgh. He was an exile in Holland, and had not yet completed his nineteenth year—'a tall man, above two yards high, with hair a deep brown near to black.' But the Scots accepted him as King only on condition that he should swear to the Covenants and establish Presbyterianism in the three kingdoms. These terms at first Charles refused. The Catholic Irish had joined with the Royalists there against the Puritan Commonwealth, and by their aid he hoped to secure his throne. Moreover, Montrose held out hopes of a purely Royalist rising in Scotland. But in a short time Cromwell stamped out the Irish resistance. Thereupon Charles again opened negotiations with the Scots. Montrose however was allowed to go on with his preparations. He was to be used to frighten the Covenanters into moderating their demands. It was a hopeless mission. The Scottish Royalists were not likely to take risks for a King who at any moment might come to terms with their enemies. And he did. On May 1, 1650, Charles signed the draft agreement at Breda, in which he accepted the Covenants, and agreed to the establishment of Presbyterianism. Thus again he damped the enthusiasm of his supporters in England, who were, of course, Episcopalians.

2. *The Fate of Montrose.*—Meantime Montrose, with some foreign soldiers, had landed at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, a safe base as the Covenanters had no fleet. His friends, having gone before him, had raised 700 of the natives, who had little heart in the cause. With these troops Montrose landed at Thurso, and marched south, expecting to be

joined by the Mackenzies and the Gordons. But he got no recruits on his march. The Earl of Sutherland was a Covenanter, and the towns and strong places were garrisoned against the Royalists. Leslie was hurrying north, and to avoid his cavalry Montrose struck into the hills. At Carbisdale, near the head of the Dornoch Firth, he was surprised by Colonel Strachan with a small body of horse supported by Munros and Rosses, both Covenanting clans. His little force was scattered by half its number, and Montrose took to the heather, and fled westwards in peasant's clothes. After a few days of hardship he was captured and brought south, wrapped in a brown plaid, and riding, with tied feet, a Shetland pony on a saddle of rags and straw. His enemies did not spare his feelings, but they could not break his spirit. He had no friends. His fate was fixed; he was already a proclaimed traitor. He was hanged at Edinburgh, and his head stuck on a new spike on the Tolbooth. His limbs were bestowed among the four chief towns. Three weeks before Charles had signed the agreement of Breda.

3. *Charles in Scotland.*—But the efforts of the young King to make easier for himself the hard conditions of the Covenanters nearly ended the negotiations. At last, on his way across, Charles made a complete surrender, binding himself also to enforce the penal laws against the Catholics who had fought for him, and to dismiss the greater part of his personal following who were mere Royalists. Before he landed at Speymouth he took the oath to observe the Covenants. It was next ordered by

the Estates that all his friends, Royalists and Engagers, should leave Scotland, except nine, among whom were the new Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Lauderdale. Nothing was left undone to check the very thing Charles hoped for—a rising on his behalf independent of the Scottish Government. When he reached Leslie's army at Leith the soldiers showed such enthusiasm for the young King that he was at once hurried away to Dunfermline. A Commission had already been appointed to 'purge' the army of the Covenant by weeding out all who had shared in the Engagement or were unsatisfactory in character. These now expelled from the ranks 80 officers and more than 3,000 soldiers.

4. *Leslie Outmanœuvres Cromwell.*—While these 'purgings' were on hand the first blows of the campaign had been struck. Oliver Cromwell led the army of the Commonwealth, which numbered about 16,000 men. For provisions he had to rely upon his fleet, as the Eastern Lowlands had been cleared of food, and even the Scots outside the army were soon starving. Cromwell had to feed them too. His plan was to occupy some port where his ships could lie in safety. But when he moved to seize Leith he found the Covenanting army, over 20,000 strong, entrenched in his way, with the skilful veterans, the old Earl of Leven and David Leslie, at its head—the latter really being in command. He was forced to retreat first to Musselburgh, where the harbour was unsuitable, and then to Dunbar. He now entered into correspondence with the Commission of the Assembly, taunting

them as Covenanters with supporting the greatest of all the 'malignants'—Charles himself. Stung

Emer Walker.

OLIVER CROMWELL (1599–1658).

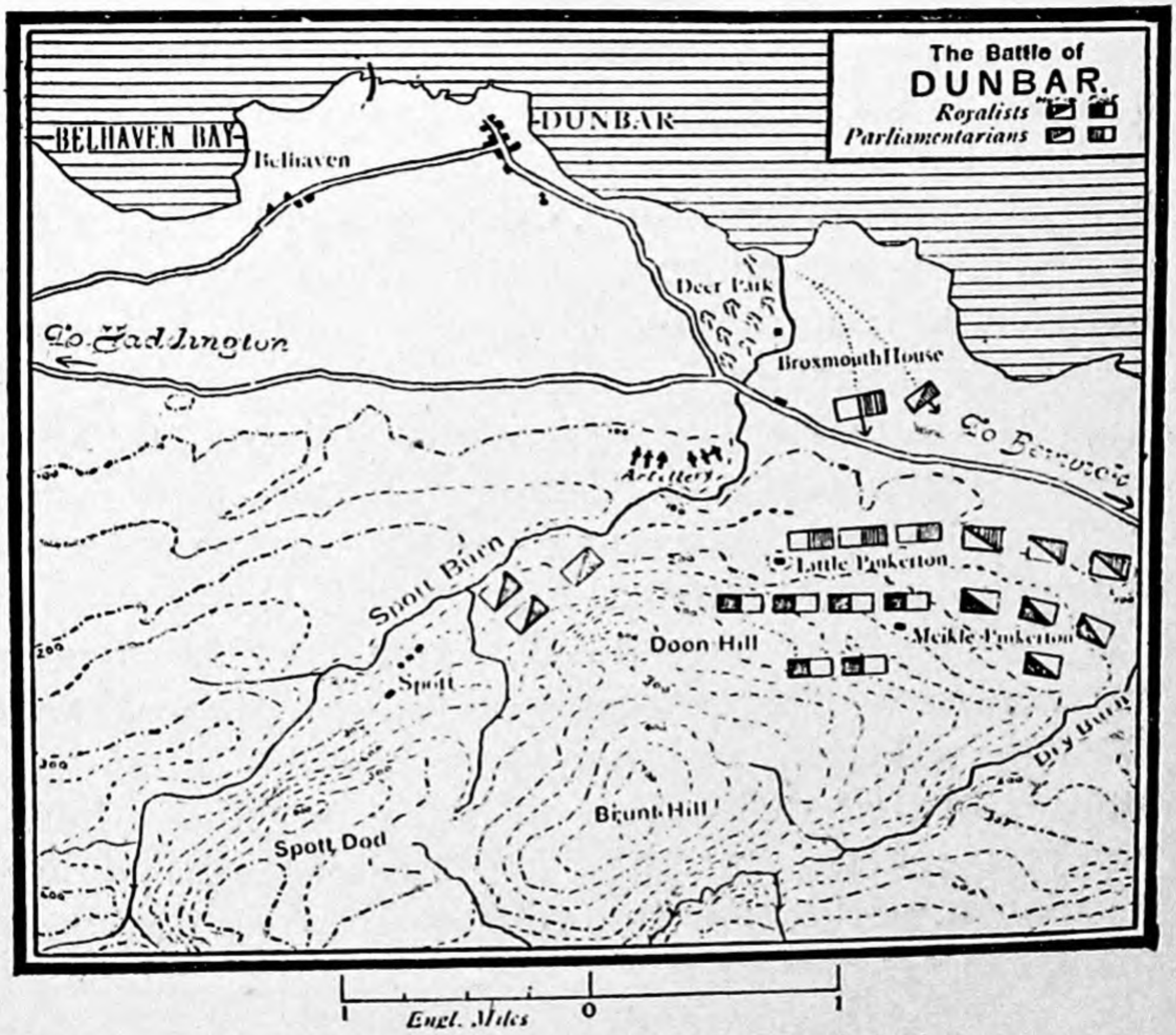
From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

by this 'blasphemous letter,' as they called it, the Commission insisted upon the King signing a

declaration in which he expressed repentance not only for his own shortcomings, but also for the wrong-doing of his father and the 'idolatry' of his mother. Unless he did so, he was told, neither Church nor army would support him. Charles signed, and this was Cromwell's answer. The English leader, abandoning hopes of Leith, now tried to reach Queensferry. But every movement was blocked by Leslie in a strong position. Though there was some skirmishing, Cromwell could not bring on a general engagement. Both sides were suffering from sickness and lack of food, and at last the baffled Cromwell had to hurry back again to his ships at Dunbar. He was closely followed by the Scots, who barred the road to Berwick, and from Doon Hill looked down on the English army cornered at Dunbar behind Brock's Burn.

5. *Dunbar Drove* (1650).—For two days the armies watched each other. Cromwell had lost many men through sickness, and his force was but half the number of that of Leslie, who had received northern reinforcements. But the 'purging' was still doing its foolish work. On the very day before the fight many officers had been removed from their regiments and young unknown men appointed. The clergy and their supporters, too, were demanding the destruction of the 'sectaries.' A council of war decided that an attack should be made. Leslie seems to have feared that Cromwell might slip through his fingers. He might fortify Dunbar; there was a rumour that he was shipping his men and heavy guns. On the Monday afternoon, to the delight of Cromwell, the Scots were seen to be

moving downwards from the right to the more level ground. Leslie intended a surprise ; it was himself who was surprised. Night came on with torrents of rain. Many Scottish officers strayed away to seek shelter. The men, drenched and hungry, huddled



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR (1650).

From C. H. Firth's 'Oliver Cromwell' (Putnam's Sons).

under the corn-stooks. But through the rain and darkness Cromwell moved up men and guns to the steep banks of the Burn, himself directing the dangerous operation from 'a little Scots nag,' and in his nervous anxiety 'biting his lip till the blood

ran down his chin without his perceiving it.' Ere daybreak the regiments were across, and driving in the Scottish left. But this was only a feint: Cromwell's plan was to destroy the Scottish cavalry on the right, and then roll in the centre and left between the hill and the burn. After one repulse he succeeded. The crowded ranks of the Scots were thrown into confusion, and confusion was turned to flight. Some of Leslie's infantry made a brave stand till they were ridden down. The new officers had not stood by their men. Then the sun rose from the sea to throw its first beams on the slope covered with Scottish fugitives. 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered!' exclaimed Cromwell as he pressed on the pursuit. He had lost but few men. Thousands of Scots fell, and 10,000 were prisoners. These were marched south to be shipped to the plantations in the English colonies. They could not be supplied with sufficient food, and at Morpeth they ate the raw cabbages in the gardens. Of this meal many died. Little more than half reached New England. They were bound as serfs to the colonists for a few years, then became free, and settled down in their new homes.

6. *Remonstrants, or Protesters, and Resolutioners.*—The defeat at Dunbar was the defeat of the policy of the Kirk and Argyll. 'Surely,' wrote Cromwell, 'it's probable the Kirk has done their do.' Division at once appeared. While the wreck of the Scottish army gathered itself together at Stirling the Whiggamore portion under Colonel Ker retired to the West to raise fresh troops. These extreme Covenanters

had as their leaders Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling. From Dumfries they issued a *Remonstrance* against the present Government, refusing to acknowledge Charles as King, as he was not honestly a Covenanter. They were, of course, right in this belief. Charles had taken the Covenants because there was no other way open to him, but he had no intention of observing them further than it served his interests. His tongue had sworn, his heart was unsworn. In the north, again, there was a Royalist rising under Colonel Middleton. But General Lambert broke up the Whiggamore army at Hamilton. The outcome was an alliance between the moderate Covenanters and the Royalists, including those now in arms. While the Remonstrants demanded that the Act of Classes should be strictly enforced, the Estates passed a series of resolutions the effect of which was to undo that Act, and admit to Parliament and the army those who had been excluded thereby after satisfying the Church. The main thing at present was to unite the nation under its King. Charles was crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651, Argyll placing the crown upon his head. On the same day the restored Earl of Lauderdale was sworn a Covenanter. Later the excommunicated Middleton did penance in sackcloth in a Dundee church. The Estates next repealed the Act of Classes entirely. These proceedings were approved by the General Assembly under protest from the Remonstrants, who now came to be known as *Protesters*. The majority, having accepted the resolutions admitting the 'Malignants,' were styled *Resolutioners*. The

strength of the Protesters was in the south-western counties.

7. *The Scots Invade England.*—Charles himself now assumed 'the conduct of the army,' with Leslie and Middleton as his chief commanders. Cromwell having defeated a Scottish force at Inverkeithing, where the warrior Macleans were cut to pieces, seized Perth. Thereupon the Scots marched south and entered England, hoping to bring about a Royalist rising there. Few joined them. The Scots were mistrusted, and there was no enthusiasm for a Covenanted King who had bound himself to force Presbyterianism upon the country, and sworn that 'he will have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant, and that he will have no friends but the friends of the Covenant.' The English people rallied against him instead of for him. Meantime Cromwell and Lambert had hurried after the Scots, and at Worcester, on September 3, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar Drove, the Royalist army, after a stiff contest, was defeated and dispersed. Charles had fought bravely, and narrowly escaped. After some adventures he reached a fishing village and sailed to France. He said he 'would rather have been hanged' than go back to Scotland. Leslie and Lauderdale were captured, and sent to the Tower. Middleton, by the help of Sir James Turner, also managed an escape, and the two joined the King abroad. Argyll, no longer in power, had been excused from following the army to the disaster at Worcester.

8. *The Subjugation of Scotland.*—To complete the work of subduing Scotland Cromwell had left

behind him General Monk, who had begun his career as a Royalist officer. Leith, Edinburgh, and Perth were already in his hands, and Stirling was soon added. Then the Committee of Estates was seized at Alyth, and thus the sole governing body left in Scotland was swept from the board. Dundee was captured, and as it had been taken by assault the soldiers, according to the custom of war, were allowed to plunder it for twenty-four hours. Aberdeen and Inverness made no resistance, and a garrison was planted even in distant Kirkwall. The western towns and fortresses fell in the same way. Monk's colonels established garrisons in every corner of the country. Never, not even under Edward I, had Scotland been so reduced. The two years' war had cost her 40,000 of her best sons, slain or in captivity. Her nobles had been forced to make terms, or were in prison, or were lurking in the Highlands, or had fled abroad. An English force which 'rambled and scrambled' through Argyllshire compelled the doubtful Marquis to submit to the Commonwealth. Only the 'Honours' were safe—the crown, the sceptre, and the sword of State, the lone symbols of independence. They had been carried into Dunnottar Castle, the last Lowland fortress held for the King. Before its fall the 'Honours' were smuggled out in a bag of flax on a woman's back, and buried under the floor of a neighbouring church. By the end of 1652 it was said of Scotland that 'all things at present are in a strange kind of hush.'

9. *Union with England.*—After Worcester the first intention of the English Parliament was simply

to annex Scotland and abolish the name. This idea was given up, and the country was placed under eight English Commissioners, afterwards under a Council of State which included some Scots. In place of the Estates, Scotland was to be given thirty representatives in the English House of Commons. The negotiations regarding this Parliamentary Union dragged on for five years, while Cromwell dismissed one Parliament after another. The Scots took little interest or share in the business, but in 1657 the Act of Union was completed. A more important fact was the suspension of the Court of Session, whose place was taken by Commissioners of Justice, most of them Englishmen. Thereafter the 'hereditary jurisdictions' of the barons were abolished, and local courts set up. The results were all for good. Clean justice had been almost unknown in Scotland, where no well-born judge could 'see a cousin or friend in the wrong.' The English judges tempered the harsh Scots law with mercy. Death was still the punishment for stealing a cow, a horse, or a sheep. Such capital crimes the Commissioners preferred to punish with fines or flogging, and even these sentences were not always fully carried out. During the stern rule of the Kirk, too, smaller offences had been severely dealt with. In 1650 much lying and cheating had been 'detected' by the Lords of Session, 'for the which there was daily hanging, scourging, nailing of ears and binding of people to the tron,* and boring of tongues.' And the inhuman torturing of witches revolted even Englishmen who believed in such

* Weighing machine.

people. The policy of the Commonwealth was to curb the great men and the clergy, and win over the middle class and the ill-used peasantry. The price of 'incorporation' with England was to be free trade with that country and its colonies, and easier rents for the farmers. But the war had to be paid for, and the army of occupation supported. For these purposes a tax was imposed, which proved a monstrous burden, and had to be reduced by half. The estates of the leading Royalist nobles were confiscated and divided among the officers and officials. Others were placed under heavy fines. Still the greater part of the cost of administration had to be paid by England. In religion there was freedom of worship for all, and even army officers of different sects preached to congregations. To such liberties the Church was entirely opposed. But it was hopelessly divided by the bitter quarrels of Resolutioners and Protesters, and in 1653 the General Assembly was turned out of doors by Colonel Lilburne and his soldiers. 'As for the embodying of Scotland with England,' said a learned minister and historian, 'it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk that hath eaten it up.'

10. *A Rising in the Highlands* (1653-1654).—One reason why the General Assembly had been suppressed was that the Resolutioners, who were the great majority, still clung to their covenanted King, and that another general rising was taking shape. The Commonwealth was at war with Holland, and Dutch aid was looked for. In fear of the Dutch fleet the posts on the islands were strengthened. Colonel Cobbett visited the Western Isles, and left

garrisons in some of the ancient fastnesses of the chiefs. In the north the Earl of Glencairn took the command for Charles. His most active supporters were Glengarry with his Macdonalds, and Lochiel, chief of the Camerons. These were joined by other northern clans. Parties of loyal Borderers were constantly slipping north. Lord Lorne, with a following of Campbells, broke off from his father the Marquis of Argyll, who was acting in the English interest and yet trying to keep on good terms with the King. The English garrisons were constantly harassed. But personal and clan quarrels broke out among the leaders of the rising. Early in 1654 arrived General Middleton with Charles's commission, to find only a divided and unfit little army, and 'a strange miscarried business.' The close of the Dutch War set free General Monk, who came to Scotland to proclaim Cromwell as Protector, and settle the insurrection. He soon cut off Middleton's communications with the Lowlands. Then he marched north, wasting the country as he went, while Middleton retreated before him into the remoter Highlands. But over untrodden ways Monk pressed hard at his heels. He reached Inverlochy, then passed up the Great Glen, and crossed to Kintail, ravaging the districts of the chief Royalist clans. He had made his way back to Inverness when he heard that Middleton was in Argyllshire. The Royalists were caught in retreat by Colonel Morgan at the Pass of Dalnaspidal, where the road over the Grampians leads down to Inverness-shire, and easily routed. This really ended the rising, though irregular fighting went on

for a little time. The Highlands were bridled with forts great and small. An extensive 'citadel' had already risen at Inverness, built from the ruined cathedrals and religious houses in the neighbourhood. A fort was raised at the head of Loch Ness, and a ship-of-war with four guns was dragged overland, and launched on the loch. Another garrison at Inverlochy watched the Camerons and the western clans. In all about twenty-eight fortified posts dotted Scotland from Ayr to Kirkwall. The chiefs soon made their submission. Monk's successful way of dealing with the Highlands was the model for after days.

11. *End of the Commonwealth.*—Meantime Scotland groaned under a heavy burden of taxation. The districts in which were the great garrisons, however, profited by the money they spent, especially Inverness. In Edinburgh, as in Leith, the magistrates were compelled to impose some useful rules. The inhabitants were ordered to hang out lanterns with candles at their windows or doors from six till nine at night. The streets and closes were to be cleaned regularly. No one was to presume to throw filth or water from their windows—a lovable old Edinburgh custom, not to be given up so soon. Everywhere the soldiers were kept under strict discipline. Highlands and Borders ceased from troubling. The 'tories* and robbers' of the Highlands and the mounted 'moss-troopers' of the Borders, whose daring thefts had been a feature of the troubles, were put down with an unrelaxing hand. Life and property were made secure to an extent such as had

* An Irish name for banditti, or highwaymen.

been rarely known before. Oliver Cromwell died towards the end of 1658, and the succession of his son Richard to the Protectorate made no change in Scotland. It had been too thoroughly cowed. But in England Richard proved a failure. Monk, supplied with funds by a Convention of Estates, led his army to London, and secured the restoration of Charles (1660). With mutual regret in many quarters the garrisons were withdrawn. But even-handed justice, reviving trade, and a pacified country could not make up to a proud nation for the loss of its long-cherished independence; and the Church of the Covenants was unreconciled.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SECOND EPISCOPACY: CHARLES II
PART I (1660-1680)

1. *The Restoration Government.*—The Restoration of Charles sent Scotland 'frantic' with joy. To have the 'auld Stewarts' back again pleased the national sentiment. On a day of public thanksgiving the spouts of the Cross of Edinburgh ran with claret, and the streets were strewn with the fragments of hundreds of broken glasses. The exiled and imprisoned nobles returned home, all of them heavily in debt, and eager to recover their losses. Charles's first step was to appoint a Privy Council without summoning the Estates, who as yet had a right to be consulted in the appointment. The almost bankrupt Earl of Glencairn was made Chancellor.

The Earl of Rothes became Treasurer, and Lauderdale Secretary of State. General Middleton, now an Earl, was presently appointed High Commissioner representing the King. They were a company worthy of their King. Big, burly Lauderdale, with red hair and a tongue too large, 'which made him bedew all that he talked to,' was so coarse in conversation and manners as to disgust even Charles himself. Yet he had occupied his ten years' imprisonment in making himself a remarkable scholar. Both Charles and Lauderdale again had to reprove Rothes for his unexampled powers of drinking. Middleton was of an ancient family, but so poor that he had begun his career as a pikeman in the Thirty Years' War. His chief anxiety was to enrich himself. The members of Council, as a whole, were such that Charles declared many of their acts to be the 'acts of madmen or of men continually drunk.' No whit better and entirely corrupt were the new judges. On the other hand, Argyll, on going up to London, was arrested, tried before Parliament for 'compliance' with the Government of Cromwell, and executed. Mr. James Guthrie was similarly disposed of, and the same fate befell Johnstone of Warriston on his capture two years later (1663).

2. *The Restoration Parliament and Episcopacy.*—The Parliament which met in 1661 and continued for three years, showed itself submissive to the King's wishes. It restored to the King the sole right of selecting the officers of State. It imposed an oath on all public officials declaring the King 'supreme Governor of this kingdom over all persons

and in all causes.' One Act annulled the Whiggamore Parliament of 1649, and another all public

Augustin Ryschgitz.

JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

From an engraving of the painting by Sir Peter Lely.

Acts passed between 1640 and 1648. Charles was voted an annual grant of £40,000, a sum quite

beyond the ability of the country to pay. In the following year Episcopacy was formally restored, and the bishops admitted to Parliament. Patronage, too, was restored, and ministers otherwise appointed were ordered to be properly presented and approved by the bishops. The Covenants were declared unlawful, and all persons holding public appointments were required to take an oath renouncing them, and declaring any resistance to the King to be a crime. Those who spoke or worked against the royal supremacy or the Episcopal government were to be held guilty of treason. In the closing session the form of electing the Lords of the Articles which had been used in 1633 was adopted, placing the real power in the hands of the bishops (see Chapter XXVI, § 4). A standing army was raised. Finally an Act, known as the 'Bishops' Drag-net,' made subject to fines all who failed to attend church. Parliament then dissolved, and the work of carrying out the new constitution was left to the Privy Council and its officers. But ere the third session of Parliament had met, Middleton and Lauderdale had quarrelled, and Lauderdale, who had the ear of the King and of the King's lady friends, brought about the dismissal of his rival and the appointment of Rothes as High Commissioner. An Act of Fines to be laid upon such as had accepted the Commonwealth, had been secured by Middleton, and applied so as to provide money for himself and Royalist friends. This Lauderdale caused to be repealed after Middleton's fall, but it was revived later by royal proclamation.

3. *Results of these Measures.*—It thus seemed as

if the work of the last twenty years had been undone. Yet not all. The restored Lords of the Articles were not all-powerful. Parliament no longer met simply on the first and last days of the session to appoint the Lords and approve the measures which they had framed. The whole body met at short intervals, and debated and even altered the 'Articles' submitted to them. A regular opposition, too, disclosed itself in time, due partly to the jealousies of the nobles among themselves, partly to their jealousy of the bishops. Nor was the restored Episcopacy what it had been, in so far as the Liturgy and the Articles of Perth were not reimposed. But the Presbyterians had been deceived by Charles, and betrayed by the agent whom they had sent to London, James Sharp, minister of Crail. Expected to do his best for Presbyterianism, he came back Archbishop of St. Andrews. Rather than submit to the new order, over 270 ministers, nearly a third of the total number, resigned their livings. The greater number of these were in the Lowland counties from Fife to Galloway. The North showed its old affection for Episcopacy, and thence was brought a crowd of young men, most of them quite unfit to occupy the vacant churches. They were known as 'the curates,' and were so unpopular in many quarters as to be mobbed and assaulted. The people forsook the churches, and gathered to the services of their old ministers in private houses. As these proved too small, the services were held in fields, and were known as 'conventicles.' Such meetings were declared illegal. To put them down, compel the people to attend the parish churches,

and collect the fines, which would come into their own pockets, was now the business of the Council. A body of soldiers was sent into the south-western shires under the command of Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune who had been a Covenanter, but was ready to serve either side. The collection of fines from landowners and merchants who had accepted the Commonwealth and contributed to its heavy taxation, ruined many, and drove others abroad. Then there were 'the Church fines' also to be collected. Of these the soldiers had their share, known as 'riding money,' and took free quarters with such as did not pay. The unscrupulous Turner was known as 'Bite-the-sheep.' To add to the general distress a war with Holland cut off the main part of Scottish foreign trade. Meantime Turner was kept busy in protecting the curates, and forcing the parishioners to attend their preaching. These, however, rather gathered in conventicles among the hills or by the side of a moss or river to listen to the 'ousted' ministers.

4. *The Pentland Rising and 'Rullion Green'* (1666).—There could be only one end to such treatment of 'the stubborn people of the West,' as Rothes called them. On a November morning Turner was surprised in his bed in Dumfries by about 150 men, some of them mounted. The affair had begun with the rescue on the previous forenoon of an old peasant who was being threatened by some soldiers with torture if he did not pay his Church fines. A soldier had been wounded with a pistol charged with the fragments of a tobacco-pipe. Followed the surprise of Turner. He had only

a dozen men in Dumfries, almost all his force having been drafted away to the Dutch War. Some would have 'pistoled' the captive, but were not allowed. The insurgents then marched westwards to Ayr, and from Ayr to Lanark, where they renewed the Covenant. Recruits from Ayrshire and Clydesdale had now swelled their numbers to about 1,100, but there were few officers. In command was Colonel Wallace, who had fought in the English Civil War and at Dunbar. He had come from Edinburgh, whither the little army with a strange mixture of weapons now marched, hoping to find sympathizers in the east. But General Sir Thomas Dalzell (Dalyell) was on their track. He was a hardy, brutal soldier of wild appearance, who had seen rough service in Russia fighting against Tartars and Turks. When the western men reached Edinburgh they found the city closed to them, and Dalzell within touch. A few enthusiasts joined, and they retired to a camp among the snow-clad Pentlands. On the frosty afternoon of the following day they were attacked by Dalzell in a strong position on the slope of a hill near Rullion Green. The 'handful of poor naked country lads who had never seen war,' and were without proper arms, made a stout stand till the early darkness fell, when they gave up and fled, and so the fifteen days' rebellion came to an end (November 28, 1666).

5. *Fall of Rothes and Sharp.*—About seventy prisoners had been taken, and of these fifteen were hanged at Edinburgh. Two of them, one of whom was a young minister named Hugh McKail, were

first tortured with the 'boot,' an instrument in which, by means of wedges driven in with a hammer, the leg was slowly crushed. As many more were hanged in the western towns. Others were despatched to the 'plantations' of Barbadoes. The rebellious districts were now placed under the

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

From Kirkton's 'Church History.'

control of Dalzell and Sir William Ballantyne. Fines and confiscations of property for sharing in the rebellion, were fresh fruit for greedy Councillors and merciless soldiery. Dalzell 'acted the Muscovite (Russian) too grossly,' and 'Turner was a saint to Ballantyne.' By these means 'all the people were struck with such a terror that they

came regularly to church.' In this work the military agents were encouraged by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow—the faithless Sharp and the witless, excitable Burnet. Then came quarrels about confiscated estates. Lauderdale did not like the alliance between the Church and the Army. On Rothes and Sharp was laid the blame of the rising, and the former was removed from his position as High Commissioner. The army was disbanded with the exception of the Guards. Pardon was proclaimed for all who had taken part in the rising, provided they should take a 'bond of peace' not to bear arms against the King. Turner lost his command; the inhuman Ballantyne was fined and banished.

6. *An Attempt at Conciliation.*—For the next few years a new policy was tried. The Government did not desire to bring about another Covenanting rising: the memory of 1638 and its sequel was still fresh. Charles II was not, like his father, a lover of Episcopacy for its own sake. He was at heart not even a Protestant. Nor did Lauderdale, any more than Montrose, care aught for bishops as such. Both had, of course, with other members of the Government, unpleasant memories of their treatment by the Presbyterians in the day of their power. But the Episcopacy of Charles II, like that of James VI, was a political necessity. It was necessary in the interests of the absolute power at which the Stewarts aimed. The bishops managed the Lords of the Articles, and the Articles controlled the Estates. As the King appointed and dismissed the bishops, this meant in the end control by the

King. The arrangement did not work out so well for Charles II as it had done for James. The Estates had tasted independent power, and were no longer entirely passive. But without the bishops and the Articles the supremacy of the Crown would be gone. These granted, Charles was ready for toleration. All the more as he and his brother and heir, James, Duke of York, had come to the conclusion that if they were to be really absolute Kings, Catholicism must be restored. Louis XIV was their model, and his way was to root out Protestantism from his kingdom altogether. Charles saw his chief obstacle in the High Church party in England and Scotland. In England its leaders were dismissed from office. Lauderdale was sent down to Scotland to undermine its power there by trying to conciliate the Presbyterians. For the rest, French money and troops were to be at Charles's disposal when the time came to strike a blow for Catholicism.

7. '*The Blink.*'—Lauderdale associated with himself some of the best and most moderate spirits in the country. Of these the Earl of Tweeddale had gone to prison for opposing in Parliament the execution of Guthrie. The Earl of Kincardine believed in a 'qualified toleration.' Sir Robert Murray was a man of scientific tastes, and the first President of the Royal Society. Alexander Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, was ready to go far to meet the Presbyterians. His idea was an 'accommodation' which, by yielding something on both sides, would unite the opposing parties in one Church. Thus in 1669 an *Indulgence* was issued

allowing 'peaceable and orderly' Presbyterian ministers to return to their vacant charges on certain conditions. Forty-two ministers took advantage of this offer. The High Church Episcopalians naturally remonstrated, Archbishop Burnet taking the lead. Their answer was an Act of Parliament (1669) affirming that the King 'hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical,' and was at liberty to make what arrangements he pleased regarding the government of the Church. Burnet was compelled to resign, and the peace-loving Leighton was induced to take his see. In the summer of 1672 a second Indulgence was published, and about as many ministers as in the case of the first returned to their pulpits.

8. *Conciliation Fails.*—The Indulgence cut a deep division in the ranks of Presbyterianism. It was urged that those who yielded accepted the King as head of the Church, made the Church entirely subject to the State, and so were 'Erastians.' The ministers who had submitted, and those who followed them, were denounced as bitterly as the pure Episcopalians by their extremer brethren. These would accept no settlement which did not include an equality of ministers—that is, the removal of bishops. Thus Leighton's attempts in the West to secure reunion utterly failed, and finally, weary of what he pronounced 'no better than a drunken scuffle in the dark,' he resigned his post, and retired to England. Meantime field-conventicles, whose numbers now ran to thousands, revived and spread. They appeared in Fife, in

Perthshire, and even in the Presbyterian districts of Easter Ross, and Moray. As a threat, Lauderdale had in 1670 secured a 'clanking Act,' which made death the penalty for a field-preacher, and laid heavy fines on the listeners. These, therefore, began to carry arms, and sentinels were posted to give the alarm against any attack by the soldiers. Both curates and 'indulged' ministers had their houses broken into, and were themselves assaulted.

9. *'The Party' in Opposition.*—Angered at the stubbornness of the Covenanters and for personal reasons, Lauderdale, now a Duke, fell back on the old methods. He needed money, and fines were to be got from captured conventiclers, many of them gentlemen of good position. But Lauderdale with his oaths and his insolence offended on all sides, and drove from him his best friends. Murray died, and Tweeddale and Kincardine soon retired in disgust. In Parliament a strong Opposition made itself heard. Its leader was the Duke of Hamilton. It was known as 'the Party,' and acted along with the English opposition to Charles's Catholic designs. Lauderdale had made a request from the King that a militia should be raised in Scotland. This was a threat to England. But in the session of 1673 the Duke of Hamilton proposed that before any answer was given the grievances of the nation should be inquired into by a special committee. These grievances were that men ignorant of law had been made judges, and that, to enrich the Duke and his friends, the coinage had been debased, and heavy taxes imposed on salt, brandy, and tobacco. The taxes were removed, but, as the Party was not

thus to be silenced, Parliament was dissolved. Lauderdale, possessing the full confidence of Charles, was supreme in the country, and with a Privy Council of his 'creatures,' including Sharp, ruled all things.

10. *A New Way with Conventicles.*—The Council now tried to suppress field-preaching by indirect means. Landowners were made responsible for the actions of their tenants and servants. If they failed to report the holding of a conventicle on their land they were to be fined a fourth of their rent. Field-preachers were outlawed, and a price offered for their capture. Garrisons were placed in the houses of country gentry who were disaffected. About a hundred people—ministers, men, and women who had been summoned for being present at conventicles—failed to appear, and were declared to be rebels. Those who sheltered or assisted them were to be treated as equally guilty. Finally, in 1677, all landowners and heritors were required to sign a bond that they would be responsible for the conformity of their tenants. Against this undertaking the landlords of the West reasonably protested; it was beyond their power to fulfil such a promise. The Duke of Hamilton and other western peers were involved. Then a 'Highland Host,' 6,000 strong, from Atholl and Lochaber, with half the number of Lowland militia, was, early in the following year, settled in free quarters over the West Country. A month later they were withdrawn, having made a clean sweep of all they could carry away, returning with 'loads of bedclothes, carpets, men's and women's clothes, pots, pans, gridirons,

stoves, and other furniture.' This withdrawal was due to a personal appeal to the King by the western lords. The militia stayed a couple of months longer. It was Lauderdale's intention to force the West into rebellion, for which an army might be provided. This would give a weapon to his despotic master, and leave him with more confiscated estates to divide. Every conventicle had now its armed guard, and to the royal forces were added three troops of horse, one of them commanded by Captain John Graham of Claverhouse a small estate near Dundee. Their special business was to enforce the laws against the field-preachers, their hearers and sympathizers. Claverhouse had just returned from service in the army of William of Orange, Charles's nephew and head of the Dutch Republic, who was struggling to keep Holland from the imperial grasp of Louis XIV, Charles's patron.

11. *Murder of Sharp and Skirmish at Drumclog* (1679).—The rising expected at Court was not long delayed. The people 'fell' into it. Early in the year there was a brush between some dragoons and the armed men of a conventicle at Lesmahagow, and the dragoons were driven off. Then at the beginning of May a party of twelve men of Fife, headed by two lairds, John Balfour of Kinloch and David Hackston of Rathillet—all outlawed Covenanters—lay in wait on Magus Moor for Carmichael the Sheriff-Deputy, detested for his severities. Instead they encountered Sharp himself, and the old Archbishop was forthwith brutally murdered before his daughter's eyes; Hackston, as a personal enemy, refusing to take a hand, but

MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

After the painting by Sir W. Allen, R.A.

looking on 'with his cloak about his mouth.' On May 29 of the same month, the King's birthday and the anniversary of the Restoration, Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston, with about eighty horsemen, rode into Rutherglen, put out the holiday bonfires, and publicly burned copies of all the Acts and Proclamations directed against the Church of the Covenants. Claverhouse at once set out to hunt for this company. On Sunday, June 1, he found them as members of a large conventicle assembled on the slope of London Hill, near Drumclog. Notice of the approach of the royal troops was given by the watchman, who fired his carbine. The service at once ended. The women and children retired to the rear, and the men advanced singing a psalm. Hamilton and William Cleland, an eager Covenanter and something of a poet, twenty years old, took command. Between the forces was a dangerous marsh. Unable to cross, most of the royal troops dismounted, and opened fire. The Covenanters, or Whigs, as they were now being styled, having few guns, but plenty of old halberds and pitchforks, shouted for close quarters. '*"For the Lord's sake, go on!" and immediately they ran violently forward, and Clavers was tooming* the shot all the time on them.*' The astonished troopers failed before such a charge. Claverhouse's horse, horribly wounded, ran him off the field, and his discouraged men fled.

12. *The Battle of Bothwell Bridge* (*June* 22).—'This may be counted the beginning of the rebellion,' wrote Claverhouse of his defeat. The insurgents failed to occupy Glasgow, and lay about the town of

* Pouring out.

Hamilton. Meantime troops were hurried up from London to stiffen the eastern militia. The command of about 15,000 men was taken by the Duke of Monmouth, the King's son, the hope of the English Protestants. A month's delay gave time for the division in the Covenanting camp to come to a head. The extremists under Hamilton, who was in chief command, and Cleland, were for barring out not only the indulged ministers and their congregations but all who would not go so far as openly to denounce them. The less extreme, under John Welsh a noted field-preacher, wished to bring as many as possible to their ranks, and leave other matters to the free Parliament and free General Assembly which they demanded. Their fiercer friends condemned them as 'rotten-hearted.' The ministers in the camp 'preached and prayed against each other.' A little longer and the Covenanters would have broken up or fought among themselves. In this condition Monmouth found them on the south side of the Clyde at Bothwell Bridge. For a time the barricaded bridge was stoutly held, but Hamilton sent neither reinforcements nor ammunition. The Cavaliers forced their way across, and horse and guns soon drove the Whigs in rout. Hamilton and Balfour escaped to Holland. Over a thousand prisoners were marched to Edinburgh. A few were hanged. The prisons overflowed, and the main body of the captives was crowded within the walls of the churchyard of Old Greyfriars, there to pass the winter. A good many managed to climb out and get away. Of the others, all but about 250 took

the oath not to rise in arms against the King, and were released. The stubborn ones were shipped for the plantations of the West Indies. But the ship was wrecked in the Orkneys, and all but the odd fifty drowned. These honest peasants were welcomed elsewhere. The Governor of Barbadoes had written to Lauderdale that he found such as had already been sent to that island 'good subjects: I wish there were more of them.' There were, of course, the usual confiscations of the estates of the western lairds who had helped in the rising. Monmouth, however, secured an Act of Indemnity or general pardon for all who would take the bond of peace. A third Indulgence was offered to ministers who had not been rebels. But Monmouth fell into disgrace, and at the earnest request of the bishops this Indulgence was shortly withdrawn. Bothwell Bridge proved the destruction of the cause of the Covenants, and, save among the small body of extremists, conventicles came to an end.

CHAPTER XXX

'THE KILLING TIME'—THE REVOLUTION: CHARLES II—PART II (1680-1685); JAMES VII (II) (1685-1689)

1. *Scottish Trade and Commerce.*—The energies of the Scottish Government were not confined to suppressing the Covenanters. That conflict mainly affected the south-western districts. The other ruling interest was the condition of trade. The encouragement of manufactures had received the

steady attention of James I. Charles I, too, had done much. He had tried even to enforce the free

CHARLES II (1630–1685).

From an engraving by P. Vanderbanc.

interchange of commodities between England and Scotland. The industries were carried on in the homes of the people, but it was now sought to

transfer these to factories and public companies. The Dutch had long been drawing riches from the Scotch fisheries. One of the constant complaints against the Highland chiefs of the West was that they made no effort to develop this industry. Thousands of Dutch 'busses' found the herring-droves a 'golden mine.' Both the first and the second Charles formed companies to work the fishings, but without success. The largest industry in Scotland was still the making of coarse cloth, or 'plaiding.' It was made all over the country, including the Hebrides. Its export brought in the largest revenue to the Customs. In Poland it was known as 'Scotch.' Its only rival in value was salt. But a better class of cloth it was not so easy to produce. Scotland did not furnish wool fine enough, and this had to be brought from Spain. Nor did Scotch workmen possess the necessary skill, and skilled foreign workmen generally avoided so poor a country. England was the chief seat of this manufacture, and as the Government tried to rival the Dutch in fishing, so it tried also to equal the English in this profitable business. Fine wool and dyes were allowed to enter without paying duty, and everything possible was done to help the manufacturer. More suitable to Scotland was the making of linen, an old-established industry which, in spinning and weaving, employed a large number of people. Since the beginning of the present reign many other industries had been started, few of which, however, managed to continue. A soap-works was set up in Glasgow. The making of sugar had been begun in the same city under the Pro-

tectorate, and proved most profitable, chiefly by reason of the rum made from the sugar. Out of it came the first large fortunes in the west. Paper-mills were built in the east at Dalry, near Edinburgh, which at first, however, produced only grey and blue paper, and needed the direction of foreigners to do anything better. All these industries found it hard, even with special privileges, to struggle against imports from other countries. Especially was this the case with the better kinds of cloth. At last, in 1681, Acts were passed which entirely forbade the bringing into the country of articles which would compete with those made at home. All stuffs made of linen or cotton or wool, except carpets, were shut out. No raw materials produced in Scotland might be exported. These Acts were met in the same spirit. Most of the Scottish linen had gone to England, but now, as English cloth was refused, so linen was forbidden to be brought across the Border. Scottish linen merchants were seized and whipped as criminals. On the other hand, English cloth was regularly smuggled into Scotland, and the Privy Council found it cheaper to buy for the uniforms of their soldiers. With this want of success, and the disturbances which again developed in the country, the boom in industry fell off. For Scotland to develop into an important manufacturing country, it needed capital, better workmen, and peace from the distracting quarrel between Church and State. It was hampered, too, by the fact that, though united with England, it was not allowed to share its commerce, either with India or the American colonies. That England

kept for herself. The free trade desired by James I and Charles I, and established by Cromwell, had been lost at the Restoration.

2. *The Cameronians.*—For a brief space after Bothwell Bridge there was peace in the West. The greater part of the Presbyterians had outwardly conformed; the Covenanting cause was left to a small band of sterner souls. Young Richard Cameron came back from Holland to raise the fallen banner. On the first anniversary of the battle (June 22, 1680) he, with twenty followers, rode into Sanquhar and read a 'Declaration' at the Cross. In this all present 'as the representative of the true Presbyterian Kirk and Covenanted nation of Scotland . . . disowned Charles Stuart as having any right, title to, or interest in the Crown of Scotland,' and 'declared war against him' and all 'who acknowledged him in his tyranny, civil or ecclesiastic.' A price was at once put on Cameron's head. A month later he and his men were brought to bay at Ayrsmoss, near the upper waters of the River Ayr. Cameron was killed in the fight. Hackston of Rathillet, who had looked on at the slaughter of Sharp, was captured, hanged, and quartered. The heads of both adorned the poles at the Netherbow of Edinburgh. Cameron left his name to his party, who were now known as 'Cameronians.' One preacher they still possessed, the aged Donald Cargill. At a conventicle at Torwood, south of Stirling, Cargill formally excommunicated Charles, his brother the Duke of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie (now King's Advocate), and General Dalzell. Ere a year had

passed Cargill's grey head was withering at the Netherbow beside those of Cameron and Hackston. The gallows was again busy with conventiclers. The Cameronians now formed themselves into 'Societies,' and refused to have anything to do with 'any Presbyterian minister' not of their own mind in all things.

3. *The Test.*—The same year saw a change in the Government. The King's brother, the Duke of York, came down to Scotland as High Commissioner. He was a confessed Roman Catholic, and the attempt in England to exclude him on that account from the throne made things there too unpleasant for him. The supporters of the exclusion were known as 'Whigs,' a name borrowed from Scotland; while those who stood for hereditary right were nicknamed 'Tories' (see Chapter XXVIII, § 11). York was determined to secure Scotland in his interest, and to this end to stamp out all disaffection, especially among the western Whigs. He courted the upper classes, and kept a gay Court in Holyrood, where the Scottish ladies now made their first acquaintance with tea. Among James's following was 'Lady Anne,' his daughter, afterwards Queen. The Duke thus found the Scottish Parliament easy to manage. An Act of Succession was passed, which laid down 'that no difference in religion . . . can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent of the Crown.' This made the Catholic heir safe so far as Scotland was concerned. Another Act devised a lengthy *Test*, which had to be taken by all holding public appointments. They thereby swore adherence to the Confession of Faith of 1560,

which was a Presbyterian Confession; to own the King as the only supreme governor in Church and State, which was in contradiction to the Confession; and on no account 'to endeavour any change or alteration in the Government, either in Church or State as it is now established'—and the heir to the throne was a Roman Catholic! This complicated Test was too much even for many Episcopalians. A number of ministers resigned their livings rather than receive it. The President of the Court of Session retired for the same reason. The Marquis of Argyll, who took it with a qualification, was declared guilty of treason, put on trial, and condemned to death. He escaped from the Castle disguised as a footman holding up the train of his stepdaughter, and passed over to Holland. The Parliament having served its turn was dissolved, and the government of the country reverted to a new Privy Council. Rothes was dead. Lauderdale, ill and in disgrace, had been removed from office, and deprived even of his pension. He died in 1682.

4. *Claverhouse in Galloway.*—In Galloway and the neighbouring districts many who had been at Bothwell Bridge were still at large. Claverhouse was, therefore, appointed Sheriff of Wigtown, and Sheriff-Depute of Dumfries, Annandale, and Kirkcudbright. The local sheriffs could not be trusted to carry out the severe laws. He was instructed to prosecute all who had failed to take 'the bond of peace' under the Act of Indemnity, and all who had since attended conventicles or had given up attendance at church. This programme he carried through with great success. He found the churches 'quite

desert ; no honest man, no minister in safety.' And he describes his method thus : ' He fell in search of the rebels, played them hotly with parties, so that there were several taken, many fled the country, and all were dung (driven) from their haunts ; and then rifled so their houses, ruined their goods, and imprisoned their servants, that their wives and children were brought to starving, which forced them to have recourse to the safe conduct, and made them glad to renounce their principles.' By such means, and by having the roll read every Sunday after the first sermon to find out the absent ones, the parish churches were soon filled, and Claverhouse was astonished at his own success. He was now given a regiment, and promoted to be Colonel.

5. *Victims of the Test.*—Thus encouraged, the Privy Council extended the application of the Test Act to all persons whatsoever. The Circuit Courts were empowered to bring before them such as were suspected of having given shelter to or conversed with suspected rebels since Bothwell Bridge, or should do so during the next three years. Few, guilty or innocent, could escape this net. In Lanarkshire alone over a thousand persons were brought before the Courts. Many hurried in to take the Test to escape further trouble. In the autumn of 1684, on the ground that they had not observed their instructions, all the Presbyterian clergymen were again turned out of the Church, and several imprisoned. Most of them retired to Holland. Such was the condition of affairs that the Duke of Hamilton was complaining of the way his tenantry were being treated, and a number of nobles

and gentlemen had formed a plan for emigrating to the new colony of Carolina. Some who had gone up to London in connexion with this business got mixed up in the Rye House Plot (1683) for the forcible exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. Three Scottish conspirators were arrested: one Spence, chamberlain to the Earl of Argyll; William Carstares, a clergyman; and Robert Baillie of Jerviswood. Spence was cruelly tortured till he gave evidence that implicated Carstares. Carstares suffered the 'thumbscrews,' but could not face the 'boot,' and supplied information which could be used against Baillie. He, an old and dying man, was tried and hanged.

THE BOOT.

6. *The 'Apologetical Declaration'* (1684).—At last the Cameronians got a minister to their liking in young James Renwick, ordained in Holland. To the alarm and annoyance of the Presbyterian ministers, field-preaching was revived, and the soldiers went hunting the country-sides once more. In November, 1684, the 'Societies' published an *Apologetical Declaration*, in which they declared their intention of punishing with death as 'enemies to God and the covenanted work of reformation' all who should persecute or inform against them. Two life-guardsmen and an Episcopal minister were killed. Kirkcudbright Prison was broken open, and the inmates released. These occurrences forced the Government

to further action. The Council declared that, the Declaration being high treason, all who should refuse to disown it might be immediately shot in the presence of two witnesses. Suspected persons who did disown were to be retained for further trial. A commission on these terms was given to General

MAP OF BORDER COUNTIES, SHOWING SITES OF BATTLEFIELDS.

Dalzell, Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, and Colonel Graham of Claverhouse. Thus began the 'killing in the fields' known as 'the Killing Time.' In February of the following year (1685) Charles II died, an absolved Roman Catholic, and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York.

JAMES VII

7. *A Loyal Parliament.*—James VII, the last of the Stewart Kings, was never crowned in Scotland. He was known to be a Roman Catholic, but the Royalist reaction in England after the Rye House Plot brought him safely to a Protestant throne. The Scottish Parliament, which was summoned to set a good example to that of England, fully answered this purpose. The Duke of Queensberry, as Royal Commissioner, announced the King's intention to maintain the established religion. The members thereupon offered their 'lives and fortunes' in defence of his throne, and voted an even greater income to James than they had given to his brother. Fresh Acts were passed against the Covenants, and it was declared that attenders at field conventicles as well as preachers should be put to death; while husbands were to be fined if their wives absented themselves from church. The Cameronians responded with another Sanquhar Declaration, in which they refused allegiance to one who was a murderer and an 'idolater,' and who was but 'making way for the Man of Sin'—their name for the Pope.

8. *Incidents of the Killing Time.*—The various Acts against all degrees of religious or political dissent kept the Council and its military agents busy. The Test was still going round. Bothwell Bridge survivors, and those who sheltered such, and all who failed to appear in church and preferred conventicles in the open air, were open to punishment under the penal laws. But specially abhorred was

the fanatical 'new sect sprung up from the dregs of the people,' as the Chancellor described the Cameronian 'Societies.' The manner in which

JAMES VII AND II (1633-1701)

these 'hill-men' were dealt with may be illustrated by some famous incidents. On May 1, 1685, Claverhouse captured on a moss John Brown, a carrier of Priesthill, near Muirkirk, and his nephew

John Browning. Brown refused to take the Abjuration Oath against the Apologetical Declaration (see § 6), or to 'swear not to rise in arms against the King, but said he knew no King.' Bullets and 'treasonable papers' were found in his house, 'upon which,' Claverhouse reports, 'I caused shoot him dead.' Brown's wife was standing by. The nephew took the oath, and so Claverhouse, who always kept strictly to the law, had no power to execute him; but, 'convinced that he was guilty' of being in arms, Claverhouse 'had carbines presented to shoot him,' and so wrung from him a confession. Browning was, therefore, handed over to a Justiciary, and by him was tried before a jury of soldiers, and hanged with four others at Mauchline. Another case was that of Andrew Hislop in Eskdale, a youth who lived with his mother. They had given shelter to 'one of the suffering people,' who died in their house, and they buried him. The grave was discovered by another Justiciary, Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall. The guilty persons were traced, and their house pulled down. Claverhouse then came upon Hislop 'in the fields.' He made no refusal to take the oath, but was handed over to Westerhall. He had already suffered punishment, but now Westerhall tried him again, and he was shot. The careful Claverhouse protested. 'The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerhall; I am free of it.' At Wigtown, where Grierson of Lag made himself a lasting reputation for cruelty, two women, one about twenty years old, the other over sixty, were drowned in the Solway for failing to satisfy their judges of their loyalty. The number of those killed in these

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

From an engraving after the painting by Sir Peter Lely.

ways or in trying to escape amounted to seventy-eight. Hundreds who avoided the sentence of death had an ear cut off, and were shipped to the plantations.

9. '*Unfortunate Argyll.*'—The Estates had early been called upon to prove their devotion to the King. The numerous exiles in Holland had planned an invasion which should lead both countries to revolt. While the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, Argyll at the same time was to make a descent upon Scotland. With him went Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane, Border lairds. This expedition was unfortunate from the start. It was all known and prepared for before Argyll touched Scottish soil. He landed at Campbeltown in Kintyre, where he published a Declaration which had been drawn up in Holland. It recounted the oppressions and cruelties of the past twenty years—in which, indeed, Argyll himself, as a member of the Privy Council, had taken his share—and called upon the people to rise in defence of their religion and liberties 'against an apostate Papist, an usurping and persecuting tyrant.' The response was not encouraging. Even of the Campbells few came to join their chief. The Earl of Atholl was in Argyllshire on behalf of the Government with a force of Murrays and Stewarts. Argyll wished to make for his own country, and seize Inveraray. The Border lairds preferred to go south, and rouse the western Whigs. Accordingly, a landing was made at Greenock. But the royal forces were gathered in the neighbourhood, and an English fleet watched the coast. The Whigs looked askance at the Earl,

who by his vote had ensured the death of Cargill. Claverhouse and Westerhall by their 'dragoonings' held Galloway in check. Argyll's plan was, therefore, adopted, and a march made towards Inveraray. It accomplished nothing of importance, and on the retreat Argyll lost his ships with guns, ammunition, and all the outfit of the expedition. Then a desperate rush towards Glasgow resulted in the army losing its way among the bogs at night. The few who reached Kilpatrick on the Clyde at once scattered for safety. Hume and Cochrane succeeded in getting back to Holland. Argyll, dressed as a peasant, was recognized while crossing the Cart at Inchinnan, and captured by some militiamen. 'Unfortunate Argyll' were the words that betrayed him. He was taken to Edinburgh. There was no need for a trial, as the former sentence of death held good. Like his father before him, under whose 'curse' he had gone out with Montrose, he met his death with a noble dignity, being beheaded by 'the maiden.' Earlier in the same month Monmouth landed in the South of England, to pass to a like disaster and doom.

10. *The Estates Oppose James.*—The occasion had now come for James to proceed with his pet scheme, the gradual restoration of Catholicism. Queensberry, while a Tory, was also a firm Protestant, and the King found a readier tool in James Drummond, Earl of Perth, who, seeing his chance of advancement, suddenly announced his conversion to the royal faith. He had a chapel fitted up in his house in Edinburgh, where Mass was said. This provoked a serious riot. The house was attacked. Lady

Perth and some lady friends were pelted with mud. Soldiers were brought out to deal with the rioters, some of whom were shot. Others were arrested and hanged. This was a bad beginning, and James soon found that in his Privy Council also he would meet with opposition. Queensberry was removed from the command of Edinburgh Castle, which was given to the Catholic Duke of Gordon. When the Estates met he was no more High Commissioner. Perth was now in James's confidence. But the Estates proved as great an obstacle as the Council, and even among the Lords of the Articles there was division. James demanded the repeal of all penal laws against 'his innocent subjects, those of the Catholic religion.' At the same time he declared his intention to throw open to Scotland the trade with England and its colonies. But the Estates were not to be bribed. They replied they would go as far as their consciences would allow. This did not suit the King. Three Privy Councillors and some other officials were dismissed. As the clergy had protested against the freeing of Catholics, one bishop was deposed, and another forbidden to preach. After much debate the Estates rejected the King's proposal, and were at once dissolved.

11. *Toleration by the Royal Supremacy* (1687).—This conflict was watched with great eagerness in London, where James was acting on similar lines. The news of his defeat heartened the Protestant opposition. But James was not the man to yield. Yielding, he said, had ruined his father. The Council was filled up with Roman Catholic members. As the representatives of the towns had been foremost

in opposition, James stopped further elections, and himself appointed the magistrates, in whose hands was the right to return members. Then, in virtue of the power given by the Act of Supremacy of 1669, James proclaimed an Indulgence which gave complete freedom of worship to all Dissenters—Presbyterians and Catholics. By the same power the penal laws against Catholics were suspended. They were thus at liberty to fill any public office. The selling of anti-Catholic literature was forbidden. On the other hand, a press was placed in Holyrood for the issuing of Catholic publications, and the Chapel Royal prepared for the Catholic service. James had at first intended to exclude Presbyterians from his Indulgence, but in the end they were admitted. Their ministers expressed their gratitude for the 'sudden and surprising nature of this favour.' Those in exile at once hurried home. All this time James was following the same course in England, issuing Indulgences, thrusting Catholics into leading positions, and so rousing the enmity of both Whigs and Tories.

12. *Execution of Renwick.*—One more victim there had yet to be, young James Renwick with a price on his head. At the end of January, 1688, he was hiding in an Edinburgh friend's house, which was searched for smuggled English goods. Renwick was recognized, and made a prisoner. He was offered his life if he would acknowledge the Government, but this he refused to do as contrary to his 'testimony.' A kindly bishop pled for him, but Renwick was unflinching, and he went, in Lauderdale's old phrase, 'to glorify God in the Grassmarket.' The

Society people would have nothing to do with the Indulgence of an uncovenanted and papist King.

13. *The Revolution* (1688).—But the night was near gone. The birth of an heir to the throne promised for the kingdoms a Roman Catholic dynasty. Terrified of this, and exasperated by James's conduct, the leading Whigs and Tories of England sent an invitation to William, Prince of Orange, nephew and son-in-law of the King, his wife, Mary, being one of James's two daughters. That this had been done was soon known, and James set about providing for the invasion. The Scottish Council called out the eastern militia, but all the regular troops, one of whose commanders was Claverhouse, were hurried up to London. William issued an address to the people of Scotland, in which he declared his purpose to be the redress of grievances and the freeing of the kingdom 'from all hazard of Popery and arbitrary power for the future.' The bishops, on the other hand, sent a long, encouraging letter to James, in which they addressed him as 'the darling of heaven.' Their fear of Popery vanished before the danger to the hereditary monarchy. But the withdrawal of the regular soldiers left Edinburgh and the Council at the mercy of William's supporters. Numbers of west-land Whigs drifted into the capital, and secreted themselves about the town. Early in December an attack was made upon Holyrood. An entrance was forced, and many of the small garrison killed. Then the chapel was cleared of its Catholic adornments, which were given to the flames. The houses of Catholics were entered and treated in the same way. Within a few days James had left

London for ever. During December the western Presbyterians devoted themselves to the 'rabbling' of the 'curates.' In the western and southern shires about two hundred of the Episcopalian ministers were turned out of their churches and manses by bands of 'rabblers.' They were hated not only as Episcopalian ministers, but because they had acted as informers against those who failed to attend church.

14. *The Throne is Declared Vacant, and Given to William and Mary* (1689).—Early in the next year a Convention of Estates assembled. The Duke of Hamilton was elected President—the first blow to the supporters of James, who had put forward the Earl of Atholl. This brought over many waverers to the Whig side. Then the Estates passed a resolution declaring that James had never taken the coronation oath, 'being a professed Papist,' and had altered 'the fundamental constitution of this kingdom from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power.' Whereby, it concluded, 'he hath forfeited the right to the crown, and the throne is become vacant.' Thus the principle which had been applied to Scotland by John Major (see Chapter XVIII, § 8), and had been adopted by such Protestant leaders as Knox and Melville, was expressed as the law of Scotland, and the royal claim of 'Divine right' formally disowned. In a *Claim of Right* the Estates further declared that Episcopacy was contrary to the inclinations of the mass of the Scottish people, and should be abolished. With these and other limitations the crown was offered to William and Mary. In taking the corona-

tion oath William at first refused to swear 'to root out all heretics,' an obligation which Protestant Scotland had taken over from the old Church. It was pointed out to William that it was but a form of words which he was not expected to act upon. Such was the change that had come over the Scottish temper as the result of the wrongs and miseries of the different forms of religious intolerance imposed on the country during the past century.

15. *The Convention and Dundee.*—Most prominent of the adherents of James was Claverhouse, whom he had created Viscount Dundee. When the Duke of Gordon proposed to deliver up Edinburgh Castle, it was he who prevented the descendant of the fickle Huntlys from doing so. He had come back from London under a promise to William to 'live quietly unless he were forced.' He attended the opening meetings of the Convention till he became convinced that the western men in the city intended to take the lives of himself and 'the bloody Mackenzie,' lately King's Advocate. Dundee made his complaint to the Convention, which passed it over. Thereupon the Jacobite* lords purposed holding a rival Convention. But Atholl's 'heart failed,' as did the hearts of the others. They merely withdrew. Then Dundee, gathering a few troopers and friends, suddenly rode out of the town, and so on to his new home at Dudhope beyond Dundee. There he was summoned by a herald and trumpeter to return and appear before the Convention. He refused, but offered to 'give security or parole

* From Latin *Jacobus*, James: the name given to the supporters of the Stewarts.

not to disturb the peace.' He was proclaimed a 'fugitive and rebel.' Dundee, indeed, was but biding his time till all was ready to strike a blow for the banished King. But he had now been 'forced' from his quiet, and the first of the Jacobites raised the standard of the royal Stewarts on Dundee Law (April, 1689).

CHAPTER XXXI

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT—THE COLONY AT DARIEN: WILLIAM II AND MARY (1689-1702)

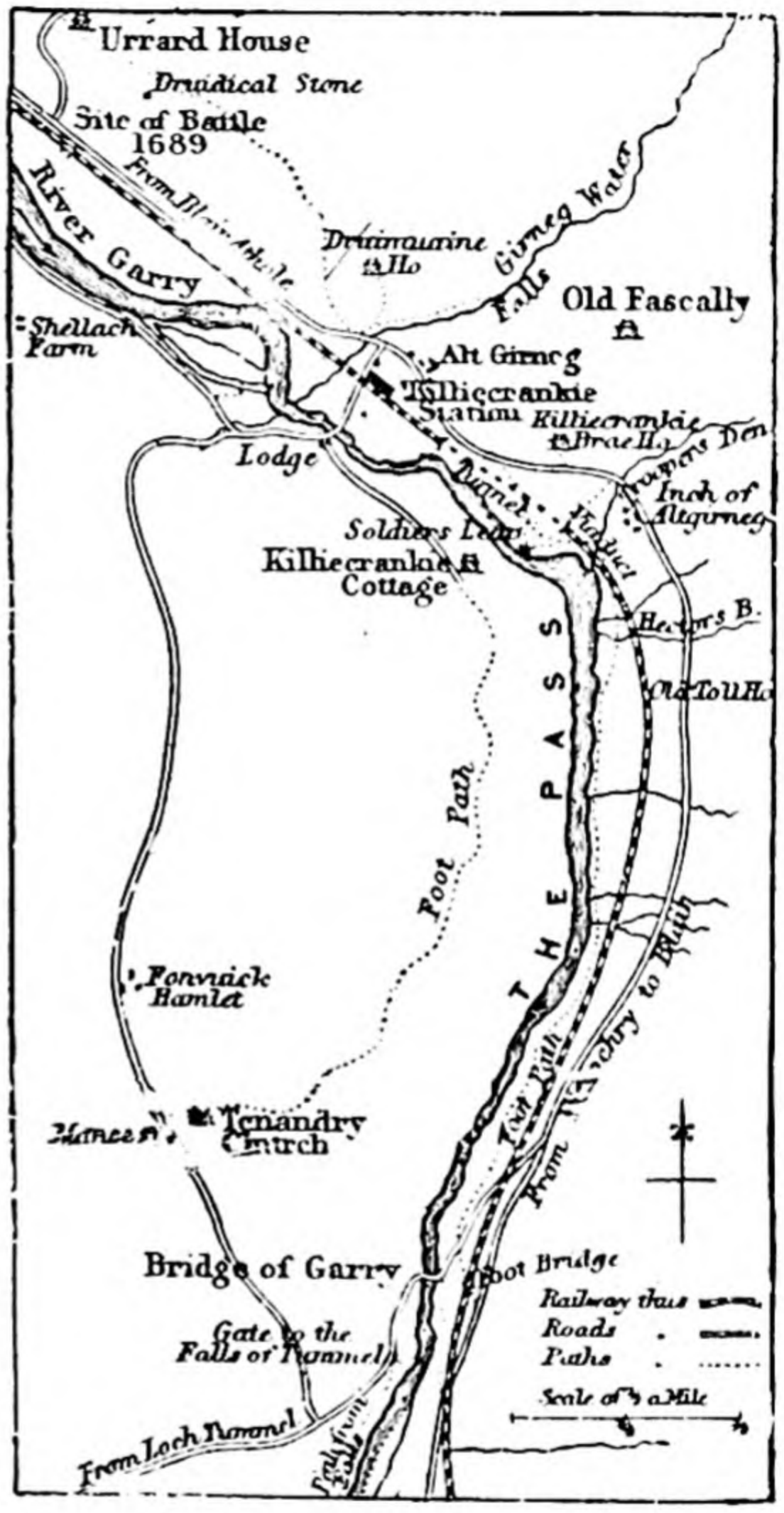
1. *Dundee in the North.*—From Dudhope the Viscount, with a small band of horsemen, rode northwards by the low country of the east, following 'the track of Montrose.' Hard at his heels came General Mackay, just back from Holland, with such infantry as he could hurriedly bring together. Dundee, on Lochiel's invitation, made his way to Lochaber. Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel had been out with Montrose, and was again ready for similar service. He was a notable figure among the Highland chiefs. He had turned back to fight for King Charles when on his way to enter as a student at Oxford. He had gone up with Monk for the Restoration, and had been knighted by James. With his own hands he had killed the last wolf in the Highlands, and his home was a palace of logs in Lochaber. The fiery cross brought to the side of the Camerons the neighbouring Macdonalds, some

Macleods, Macleans, and Grants. With 1,500 men Dundee marched out to cut off Mackay on his way south to meet reinforcements. Mackay retreated before him down Speyside ; but when he was joined by a strong body of horse it became the Viscount's turn to retreat. Satisfied with the booty they had picked up, his clansmen dropped off home. Mackay went on to Edinburgh, Dundee back with Lochiel. In June the Duke of Gordon, having used up food and ammunition, surrendered Edinburgh Castle.

2. *Dundee's Second Advance.*—Dundee worked hard to secure recruits for his cause. He believed that James, now in Ireland, was bound to carry everything before him, and he tried to get others to believe it too. James sent over three hundred undisciplined Irishmen to his aid, with some much-needed gunpowder. But the chiefs of the great clans, the Macintoshes, Macphersons and Mackenzies, would not move. The Atholl men waited for the Duke to give them a sign, but he had gone south to nurse his health. Blair Castle, however, was held for Dundee, and was being besieged by the Duke's eldest son, Lord John Murray. Mackay marched north to secure this important post, which commanded Badenoch and threatened Lochaber. Dundee could not afford to lose it, and, still believing that Murray and the Atholl men would join him, hurriedly assembled his clans, and crossed to Blair. Murray retired to keep open the Pass of Killiecrankie for Mackay's advance.

3. *Battle of Killiecrankie and Death of Dundee* (*July* 27, 1689).—Over the hills came Dundee, to the surprise of Mackay, who expected him by the

high road he was himself following. He moved his regiments up the slope to his right, and extended them to outflank the clansmen, who were but half his numbers. This left his line only three deep to meet the downhill charge of the columns of the clans. It was the tactics of the school of Gustavus Adolphus: to enable every musketeer to use his weapon at the same time, and so to envelop the attack with musketry fire. As the sun sank to the horizon and took its light from their eyes, the Highlanders started down the brae. They reserved their fire till close on the enemy, then flung away their muskets and fell on with axe and claymore. The royal line went down like pasteboard. Many fled without firing a shot. 'In the twinkling of an eye' three-fourths of Mackay's army were swept down into the valley. Only the extreme right, which extended beyond the



SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE (1689).

Highland charge, stood its ground, and poured a heavy fire into the passing clansmen. A bullet brought down Dundee as he waved on his little band of horsemen, and he died with the notes of victory in his ear. Mackay hurried away the shaken remnant of his army by the hill roads, and safely reached Stirling.

4. *The Stand of the 'Cameronians.'*—The news of the death of Dundee quieted the alarm which had been aroused by the defeat at Killiecrankie. Without a leader suited to their peculiar ways the clans were helpless. The Highland and Lowland officers quarrelled, and Lochiel went home 'to repose himself.' Meantime the Government had formed a regiment out of the Cameronians, whose Lieutenant-Colonel and real commander was William Cleland, the hero of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. This regiment was sent to hold Dunkeld. There they were beset by what remained of the Highland army, now including the Perthshire men. It was commanded by Colonel Cannon, who had come with the Irish troops. The Cameronians posted themselves in the church and the Marquis of Atholl's town house. The Highlanders poured in a raking fire from the surrounding houses, but could not cross the defences of the Cameronians. Cleland fell early in the fray. The Cameronians had almost run out of powder when the disappointed Highlanders drew off. It was the final blow to the Jacobite army, which promptly dispersed. The Lowland officers, Scots and English, came to terms with the Government, and left the country to take service in France. By Mackay's advice fortified

posts were again established up to Inverness A garrison was once more placed at Inverlochy, in 'Fort William,' to threaten the Camerons. The Cameronian regiment afterwards served under William in his great campaigns against Louis XIV.

5. *The Revolution Settlement.*—During these years the new organization of Church and State was taking shape. The Estates insisted on the abolition of the Committee of the Articles as 'a great grievance to the nation.' Thus passed away the direct control of Parliament by the Crown. Henceforward Scotland had a free debating Parliament with all its powers in its own possession. Another 'grievance' was the Episcopal government of the Church, and this was now declared at an end. William would have saved both the Articles and Episcopacy had he been able. A proclamation had been issued which all ministers were ordered to read from their pulpits. It released the people from their allegiance to James, and enjoined public prayers for the new Sovereigns. Refusal to do this on the part of a large number of Episcopal ministers resulted in over 180 being deprived of office in the Church. The Act of Supremacy of 1669 was repealed. The surviving ministers of those who had been expelled from their parishes in 1662 were restored, and, in the meantime, given full power to 'purge' the Church. They numbered sixty, and the Episcopalians styled them the 'Sixty Bishops.' The government of the Church was then constituted on the lines of the 'Golden Act' of 1592. Parishes from which the 'curates' had been rabbled or legally expelled were declared vacant. Patronage

was abolished, the right being transferred to the heritors or landowners and the kirk-session, and the congregation having the right of appeal to the presbytery against a minister to whom they objected. Excommunication by the Church was no longer to be followed by civil penalties. The Church was thus deprived of a powerful weapon. Nor were the Covenants renewed ; they were simply ignored. On this account the extreme Cameronians refused to share in the settlement, though their three ministers accepted it. William insisted on moderation in the treatment of the Episcopal ministers, who were still the great majority. They were to be subjected to a political, not a religious, test. They were to remain in their parishes provided they took an oath 'to be faithful and bear true allegiance'; an 'assurance' acknowledging William and Mary to be 'the only lawful, undoubted Sovereigns'; and accepted the Presbyterian rule. A later Act insisted only on the oath and the assurance, and thus even twenty years after there were still 113 Episcopal ministers serving in the Presbyterian Kirk. The strongest opposition to these terms was met with in the north. There, with the full support of their people, many Episcopal clergymen retained their livings in defiance of the oaths. Even as these died out, so strong was the hatred to the Whig Presbyterians in many of the Highland parishes that it was found impossible for several years to fill their places under the new order. The dissenting Episcopalians in Scotland adopted the Jacobite cause, and the defeat of that movement brought in its train the triumph of Presbyterianism.

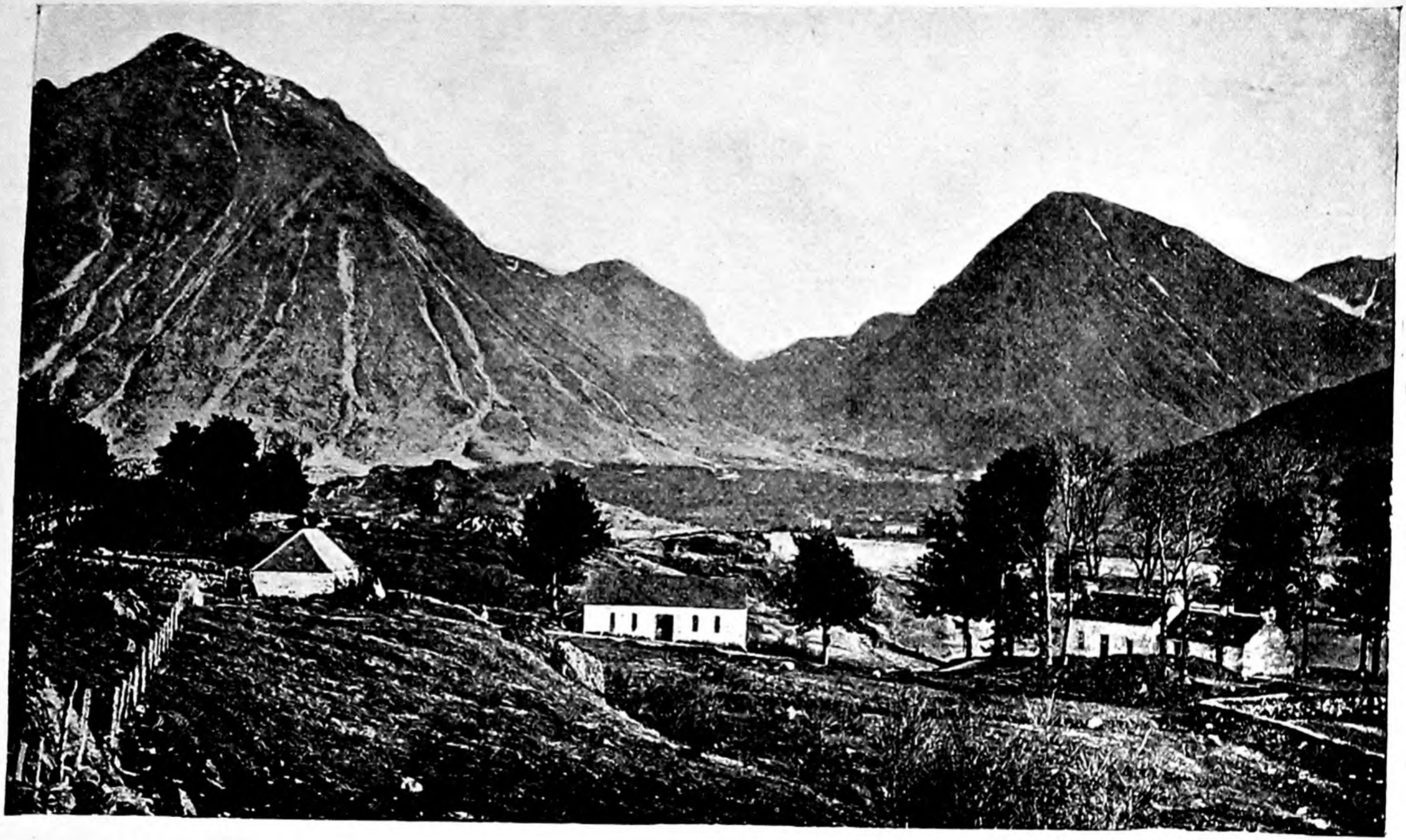
6. *The Submission of the Jacobite Chiefs.*—The failure of the Highland rising had been followed by the conquest of Ireland for William. The hopeless James therefore advised the chiefs to come to terms with the Government for the meantime. Favourable conditions were offered them. A full pardon was to be granted to all who took the oath of allegiance by December 31, 1691. A sum of £12,000 was to be distributed among them, 'to take away grounds of hereditary feuds.' This transaction was placed in the hands of the Earl of Breadalbane, a Campbell, which did not make it easier to carry through. There were quarrels about the distribution of the money. Lochiel would not 'break the ice,' and others of the chiefs held off as long as possible. But fear of the severe punishment threatened by the Government brought almost all in before the end of the year. The unlucky honour of being last, and too late, fell to Glengarry (Macdonald) and McIan of Glencoe, the chief of the small sept of Macdonalds in that barren valley lying in the gloom of mighty mountains. On December 31 he presented himself at Fort William, only to learn that Colonel Hill, not being a sheriff, had no power to administer the oath. Fearful of the danger to his people, the old chief at once hurried south to Inveraray with a letter from Hill explaining the circumstances. But the roads and passes were heavy with snow, and the sheriff was not on the spot. Not till January 6 did McIan have an opportunity of taking the oath, the reluctant sheriff yielding to the old man's entreaties and tears. The certificate and an explanation were

then forwarded to Edinburgh, and McIan went back to his lonely glen confident of his safety.

7. *Measures against the Glencoe Men.*—There was one man at Court whom this development did not satisfy—Sir John Dalrymple, Master* of Stair, one of the Secretaries of State. He had looked forward to making an example of some at least of the Highland clans, for choice the Macdonalds. And McIan had personal enemies. There was 'blood' between him and Breadalbane. Though his following was small, he had great influence among the Jacobites. Thus when it became known that 'the Laird of Glencoe' had taken the oath 'after the prefixed time,' it was regarded as 'very good news; being that at Court it's wished he had not taken it, so that that thieving nest might be entirely rooted out.' Moreover, the Macdonalds were a 'Popish' clan, and it would 'be popular to take severe course with them.' By the King's 'special commands' 'justice' was to be done on 'these miscreants.' Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, with about 120 men of Argyll's regiment, was commissioned to enter the glen, and put all under seventy to the sword, beginning at a fixed hour on a certain date. By that time another force of soldiers would have secured all the roads and passes so as to ensure that none should get away. Glengarry and his clan, however, were to be given another chance.

8. *The Massacre of Glencoe* (*February* 13, 1692).—On the first day of February the soldiers entered the glen. The people were at first alarmed, but were

* *I.e.*, heir to the title of Viscount Stair held by his father.



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GLENCOE.

informed that they had simply come to quarter there until a place was ready for them at Fort William. The Macdonalds made them welcome. The chief and his tacksmen entertained the officers, and with brandy and card-playing the jolly hours led on the fated day. On the night of February 12 a heavy snowstorm raged in the valley and among the hills. Five o'clock on the following morning was the hour and date arranged. Glenlyon began with the butchery of his own host. Nine Macdonalds were dragged from their beds, tied hand and foot, and 'killed one by one with shot.' Neither children nor women were spared. A party marched to the chief's house, shot him from behind, wounded his wife, stripped her of her clothes and little jewellery, and left her to die. But by this time the whole valley was up. The reports of the guns and the flames of the burning house told too truly what was going on under the darkness of the winter morning. In scanty clothing young and old took to the hills. The storm had delayed the soldiers from outside, and the greater part of the clan, including the chief's two sons, escaped. In all about twenty-five* had been slain, apart from those who perished from exposure on the snow-clad heights. The houses were set on fire, and the soldiers drove away with them cattle, sheep, goats, and horses to the number of a thousand. Lochiel, when he heard of what had happened, was thoroughly frightened, and he and the neighbouring clans expelled the soldiers quartered among them. In contrast with this treatment of Glencoe the sub-

* Another estimate puts it as high as thirty-eight.

mission of 'Glengarry and those with him' had been accepted on their taking anew the oath of allegiance.

9. *Inquiry and its Result.*—Only very slowly did the news leak out of what had been done in the punishing of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. At home and abroad Jacobite writers made the most of the atrocity. Three years after, an inquiry into the whole affair was ordered. A Committee of the Estates made a careful report, upon which it was voted that the killing was a murder, that the Master of Stair by his 'warm directions' was 'the original cause of this unhappy business,' and that those who carried it out should be put on trial if the King should 'think fit.' But the officers were serving abroad in William's army, and no steps were taken against them. Dalrymple was forced to retire from office, and became a shunned man. William, however, granted him a full pardon on the ground that, while 'the execution of the men of Glencoe was contrary to the laws of humanity and hospitality,' Stair, being absent in London, could not be responsible for the way it was carried out. He had merely shown 'excess of zeal,' and he received a pension for his public services as a mark of the royal favour.

10. *Industry after the Revolution.*—The persistent efforts of the Scots to equip their country with various industries, were renewed after the Revolution. They were helped in two ways. English capital flowed north to find employment in sugaries and wool factories as well as in smaller concerns. From the same quarter, too, came many Huguenots

who had crossed the Channel to escape the persecutions of Louis. They supplied expert linen-weavers. But the standing difficulty was to find an outlet for the Scottish manufactures. To protect the young industries the door had been shut against foreign stuffs. The Scots accordingly found foreign markets closed against them in turn. Each country jealously guarded its trade. England, by its Navigation Acts, barred the Scots equally with the Dutch from commerce with her North American colonies. The English and Dutch East India Companies, again, divided between them the rich trade with the East. But the English monopoly was now being attacked. Ships known as 'interlopers,' some of them owned by Scots, were forcing their way into the Eastern trade. And if the English Parliament could give monopolies of trade with English settlements to great companies, no less could the independent Parliament of Scotland do the same for Scottish companies with Scottish settlements. Thus early in 1695 was passed an 'Act for a Company trading to Africa and the Indies.' The moving spirit in the matter was one William Paterson, a Scottish merchant in London, to whom was due the formation of the Bank of England in the year preceding the formation of the Bank of Scotland (1695). The Act gave the Company great powers. They might establish colonies in any part of India, Africa, or America with the consent of the natives. They could make war and conclude treaties. Their trade was to be free from all taxation for a term of years. They were to have the sole right of trade with their

settlements. Half the stock of the Company, amounting to £300,000, was always to be owned by Scotsmen; the other half was to be offered in London.

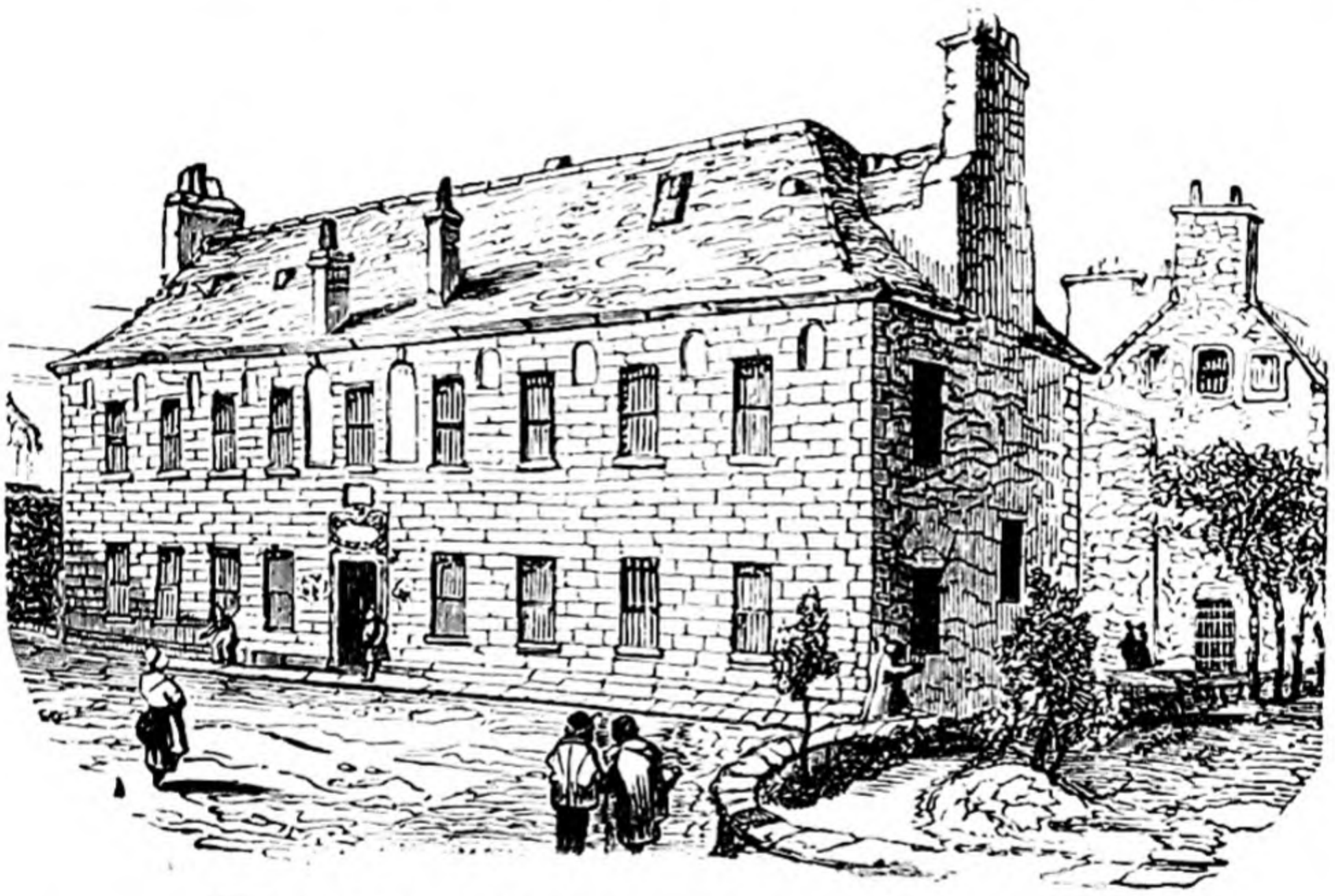
11. *Opposition of the East India Company.*—The Company was enthusiastically received by the English merchants striving to get a share in the East India trade. The English share of the stock was quickly subscribed. Then the East India Company took alarm. They saw their monopoly in serious danger. Pressure was brought to bear on the English Parliament. If the Scots merchants could, by being free from taxation, import the tea, coffee, silks, and spices of the East more cheaply than their rivals, the English trade would be ruined. The wealth that flowed into the Thames would pass to the Forth and the Clyde. The English Government would lose the Customs revenue which the India trade supplied. These inflamed objections killed the project so far as England was concerned. Parliament threatened the members of the Company in London with charges of high treason. Most of them thereupon withdrew, and the scheme appeared to have broken down. But Scottish pride was kindled. If English capital was lost, there would be more for Scotland. The Scottish share was raised to £400,000. There was no difficulty in securing this sum—on paper. In three months the greater part had been subscribed, and all of it by the time the books were closed. But of actual money only one-half was ever paid up. Every one believed that vast riches were to flow into the country. Contributions poured in from every class except the

peasantry—from Dukes to shopkeepers, from the wealthy merchants of Glasgow to the small traders of Inverness. It was a national and patriotic undertaking, and such enthusiasm had not been shown since the days of the National Covenant. But the attempt to secure the balance in Holland was foiled by the Dutch Company, and in Hamburg the English Ambassador was equally successful in his opposition. This taught the Scots that in foreign affairs the voice of the United Kingdom was merely the voice of England.

12. *The Colony at Darien* (1698).—The scheme had, however, been altered. The proposal of Paterson was to establish a trading settlement on the Peninsula of Panama in Central America, which should divert the Eastern trade into a shorter route, and set up a more direct commerce between East and West. A colony there would relieve Scotland of its 'loose, idle people.' Its position would make it the 'door of the seas and the key of the universe.'* The idea was a brilliant one, but did not suit the Scots, whose aim was an exclusive, not a free colony. For this the conditions of success were wanting. The district chosen on the Gulf of Darien was within the possessions of Spain, though unoccupied by that country. At this very time Spain, with a dying, childless King, was the subject of delicate European negotiations in which William was closely concerned. The intrusion of the Scots was likely to cause mischief. Moreover, they had no colonial experience. There were too many

* Paterson had even a scheme for a canal, an idea now being realized.

'raw heads' in the business. This was shown in the way the first expedition was equipped. It consisted of five ships carrying 1,500 men. It carried provisions for only six months, with no means of getting more. Besides the implements necessary for a colony, there was a large cargo of articles for trade with tropical peoples. And these were mainly woollen goods, tweeds and serges



THE DARIEN HOUSE, BRISTO-PORT, EDINBURGH.

from the Lowland factories, stockings from Aberdeen, no fewer than 4,600 wigs of all sorts, and 1,500 English Bibles, 'thin grey paper,' and 'many little blue bonnets'! With such an unsuitable burden the little expedition reached its destination early in November, 1698. The Bay of Acla, now Caledonia Bay, north of the Gulf of Darien, was selected for the settlement, and on the outermost

point of a small peninsula was planted the fort which was to be the beginning of the town of New Edinburgh.

13. *Disasters to the Colony.*—The season of the year favoured the colonists in that deadly climate. The Indians made them welcome; they thought they were some of their old friends, the buccaneers, come to spoil the Spaniard. And in that light, too, they soon found they were regarded by the Spaniards. One of their ships was captured while out for supplies, and only the interference of the English Government saved its crew later from being hanged as pirates. Soon provisions began to run short, and the goods brought over were useless for trade. There was no demand in steaming Darien for plaidings and kid gloves. A royal command forbade the English colonies in the neighbourhood having any intercourse with their unfortunate countrymen. With the summer came the fatal fevers. Men died in scores. There was no help, no news from home. There had been jealousies and quarrels among the leaders who formed the Council. The starving and fever-stricken remnant at last abandoned their fort in three ships, two of which bore their miserable crews to New York, while the *St. Andrew* reached Jamaica, where those on board, refused official aid, were helped by private persons.

14. *Failure of the Second Expedition* (1700).—In the autumn of the year arrived the first two ships of the second part of the colony. They found the settlement, of course, deserted and overgrown. They could do nothing. The ship containing the

bulk of their provisions was accidentally blown up, and they too were forced to retire to Jamaica. Thus again an abandoned site met the four ships which sailed into the bay shortly afterwards. There were keen disputes as to what was to be done in the circumstances, but finally the colonists settled down to rebuild and establish themselves. Other ships were dispatched from Scotland, but only one arrived in time. Again the provisions were found insufficient, and much had gone bad. The articles of trade none would have. The Spaniards were beginning to close in upon the settlement by land and sea. In February, 1700, Captain Campbell with a small force, mainly Highlanders, marched across the peninsula, and surprised many times their number of Spaniards at *Tubucanti*, defeating them with ease. The news of this success caused great excitement and rejoicing in Edinburgh. In the state of feeling against King William and his Government the rejoicing grew into a noisy riot. Unilluminated windows were smashed. The Tolbooth was forced open and the prisoners released; two of them having written fiery pamphlets against the Government on the Darien question. The bells of St. Giles's were set ringing to the tune, 'Wilful Willie, wilt thou be wilful still?'

15. *Darien is Abandoned* (*March* 31, 1700).—But while Edinburgh was thus triumphant, the final disaster had already overtaken the darling colony. Captain Campbell returned to find the harbour held by eleven Spanish warships. The settlers were blockaded in their fort. Disease slew faster than the enemy. As many as sixteen died in a day.

The water-supply was cut off; what could be got was brackish. Food and ammunition were both bad, and rapidly running short. The end came in an honourable capitulation. The little garrison marched out with all their property and arms, 'with colours flying and drums beating.' They crowded aboard their five ships and two sloops. Hundreds of sick men, whose chief food was damaged oatmeal, died on the voyage. Most of the vessels were wrecked or run ashore on the American coast. But one ship, the ill-named *Speedy Return*, and Campbell's sloop reached home. The Darien undertaking had cost Scotland about 2,000 men and £200,000. It brought the nation to the brink of financial ruin.

16. *Indignation in Scotland.*—With each rebuff and disappointment that marked the course of the Company the anger of the Scots had deepened. The interference of the English Parliament, the action of the Ambassador at Hamburg, the instructions to the colonial governors to boycott the colony, the wilfulness of the King in his opposition, then the final failure—each blow drove the nation 'still madder and madder.' As the Estates could not be kept off the Darien business, they were adjourned from time to time. The Jacobite members of the Opposition or Country party fostered the national grievance. Their prospects were brightening. William had no children. Mary had died in 1694. Her sister Anne would succeed, and Anne's one surviving son now died. The following year (1701) saw the death of James VII, and what more likely than the restoration of the old royal

family in the person of his son, James Francis Edward, 'the Old Pretender,'* now recognized as King by Louis of France? The thought of this rallied the Whig members of the Country party to the support of the Government. Still, Scottish pride needed satisfaction. When Parliament at last met, William expressed his regret at being unable in the interests of peace to support the colony in Darien, but was ready to aid the Company on other lines. In reply, addresses and petitions poured in from every class and district in the country. The Government vainly tried to dispose first of the demand for supplies for the great war now impending over the Spanish Succession. The Darien affair overshadowed everything. Resolutions were passed, after heated and stormy debates, condemning the obstacles that had been placed in the Company's way, and asserting New Caledonia to be a lawful settlement. This brought the Estates into direct conflict with the English Parliament, which, in the House of Lords, had approved all that the Estates condemned.

17. *Proposals for Union.*—There was only one way to deal with the situation. William renewed the proposal for closer union which he had made at the beginning of his reign. If conflicts between the two independent Parliaments were to be avoided, the trade interests of the two countries would have to be more fairly adjusted. Early in 1702 William informed the Commons that he 'would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both

* Pretender is simply the French *pretendant*, claimant.

kingdoms one might take place.' But the English Parliament, it was to be shown, had not yet awoke to the seriousness of the case. Shortly afterwards the King, worn out by his campaigning, died from the effects of a chill (March, 1702). Despite the unhappy events with which his name had been associated, he was popular in Scotland. This was largely due to the careful guidance in dealing with that kingdom which he had received from his chaplain and life-long friend William Carstairs, the sufferer through the Rye House Plot, one of the best of Scotland's clerical statesmen. He was 'properly Viceroy' of Scotland, and 'was called at Court Cardinal Carstairs.'

CHAPTER XXXII

SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNION

1. *Scotland in the Seventeenth Century.*—Thus the century which had opened proudly for Scotland closed in bitterness and distress. The union of the Crowns had brought the nation no material gain. The strife of the Churches had been prolonged and embittered by the power of Kings living out of the country, and becoming more English than Scotch. 'Independence' was but a shadow when it was no longer an object of fear, and so the interests of the larger and wealthier kingdom always took first place. Wars, confiscations, and fines had burdened or ruined many of the landed families. The towns were so reduced that several royal burghs had parted

with their privileges, as they could no longer pay their dues. The population of such a promising town as Glasgow fell largely after the Commonwealth, during which the nation had its first glimpse of prosperity. When, free of the Covenanting struggle, an active and ambitious people turned its energies to trade, the conditions of the union were found to be insupportable. Scotsmen had to pay for wars whose advantages fell to England. They helped to man the fleets of England and of Holland, and to fill the ranks of the armies that held France in check. But the kingdom could not act apart from England ; it could not compete with her trade, and it was not allowed to share. In all forms of prosperity it was still far behind. England had seven times the population of Scotland (about 800,000), and was sixty times as rich. Newcastle alone had more trade than all the Scottish burghs together. Attempts to set up industries on independent lines led to the inglorious failure of Darien. This crushing loss fell on a country passing through the seven lean years (1696–1703), when the green harvests of sunless summers were often reaped in early snows. So many died of starvation that 'the living wearied of the burying of the dead.' The eighteenth century dawned on a poverty-stricken people.

2. *The Working Classes.*—In many respects the poorer Scots were no better off than they had been two hundred years before. Rents were high, though paid mostly in produce, and the peasants occupied their holdings at the pleasure of their landlords. There was thus no encouragement to this class to

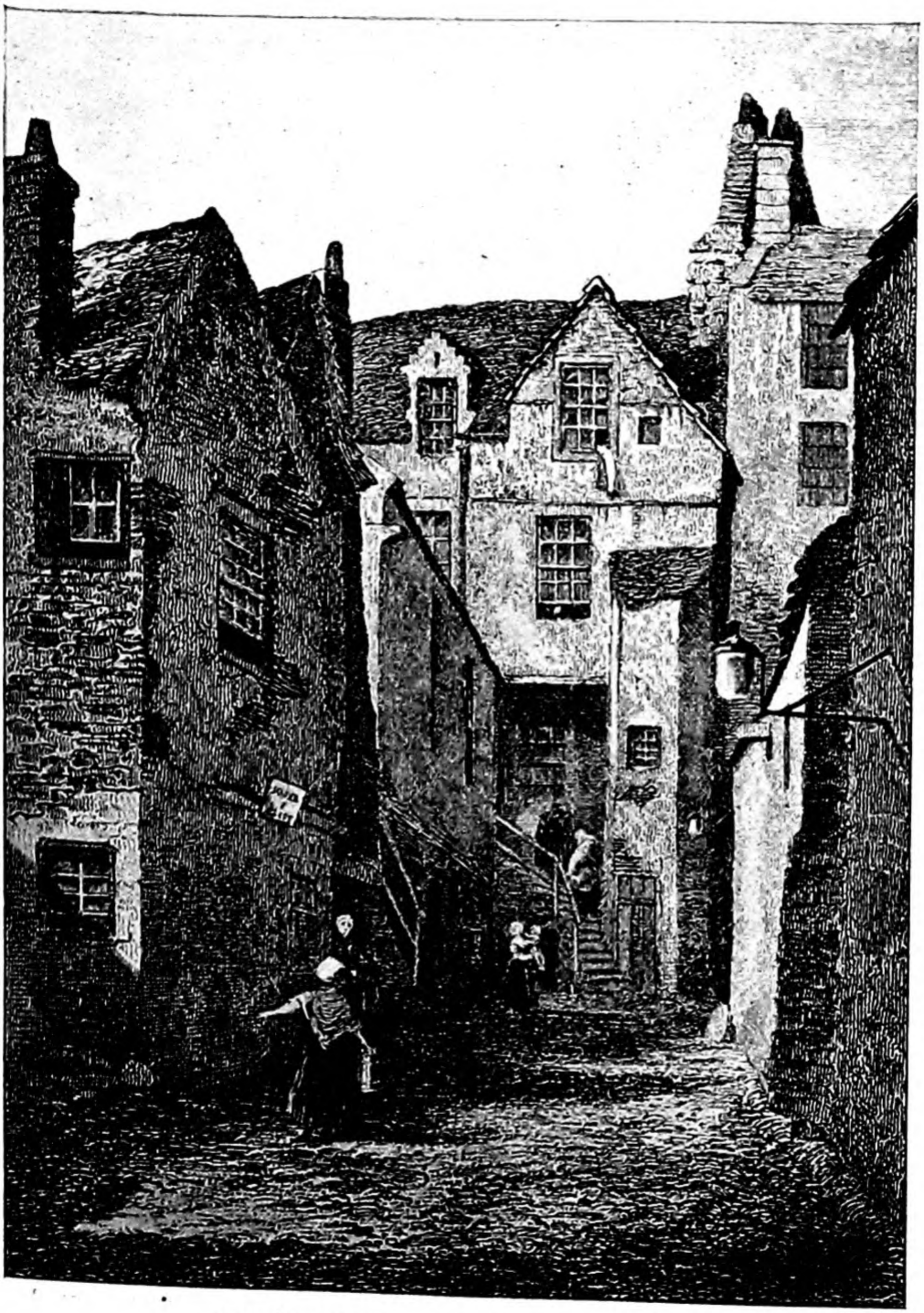
better their conditions. Sturdy beggars in threatening bands still swarmed over the country and infested the towns. In lonely hamlets it was dangerous to refuse their demands. These were in addition to the really poor and helpless. It was still the law for magistrates to fix the prices of goods and the wages of workers. Crafts and merchandise were still confined to freemen of burghs. Owners of lead-mines in Lanarkshire, and of coal-mines in Fife and the Lothians, required a special licence to supply their workmen with food. The tailors of Inverness more than once complained to the Privy Council of 'outlandish' men carrying on that trade outside the burgh. The difficulty of enforcing such laws led to the reduction of two important classes of workers to a state of slavery. Colliers and salters were bound to the mines and 'pans' at which they worked. They could not take up any other occupation. One master was not allowed to offer higher wages than another. They were part of the property on which they worked, and were transferred with it. Their children were born to the slavery of their parents. Such was the law of Scotland till near the close of the eighteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century there were still men and women within a few miles of Edinburgh who had been born slaves.

3. *Life in the Country.*—Labour on the land was still the main industry, and both in England and Scotland the methods were still the same as those in use at the time of the War of Independence. Only the portion of land near the farmhouse, the 'in-field,' was regularly tilled. The larger portion,

or 'out-field,' lay waste under the coarse, wild grasses as pasture for the undersized cattle and sheep. Part of the out-field was ploughed up each year, but a single crop exhausted it, and it lay fallow till its turn again came. Ploughing was done by all in common with a team of eight to twelve oxen. Horses were expensive to use, as they had to be fed with oats, and of that there was often little enough for the people themselves. Wheaten bread was a dainty in Scotland, as in the north of England. Less wheat was grown in the Lowlands than in the days of the farmer-monks. There were no fences. The cultivated land was marked off by grassy banks, or by lines of 'march-stanes.' Hence, during the summer, the cattle had to be watched all night lest they should break down the dry-stone walls of the fold and stray among the growing crops. On the moors were the sheep and cattle farms. Wool was the most plentiful product of the Borders, as cattle and horses were of the Highlands. But Galloway 'nags' also were famous, and good horses were known in England as 'Galloways.' The houses of the peasantry were what they had been for hundreds of years (see Chapter XVIII, § 2). Farmers and their cottagers or labourers made up the smaller towns. The landed gentry still kept to their country houses, where living was cheaper than in towns such as Edinburgh, and where they could use up their rents in 'kind.' 'In Scotland the merchants and some lawyers alone make their constant abode in the cities.' Bare and bleak was the Lowland landscape, from which the trees had long been cleared. Only about the towns was growing timber to be seen, or

in close clumps shading the houses of the great noblemen. Wood for all purposes, from platters to house fittings, had to be brought from the Highlands or Norway.

4. *Life in the Towns.*—Of the Scottish towns, Edinburgh was still easily first in all respects. Its long, sloping street of unusual width, paved with round stones, and formed by houses that rose as high as ten stories, gave it a distinguished air. As in all the towns of Scotland, the houses were stone built, but faced with boards. The 'fore-stairs' were now giving way to spiral stairs in outside turrets, and, owing to the destructive fires to which the towns were subject, the olden thatch was being replaced by tiles or slates. Of the narrow windows the upper half only was of glass, the lower opened in wooden shutters. The gutters ran down each side of the street, and there was none in the middle, which thus formed an open space for the busy crowds that flocked to the courts and markets of the capital. 'In Scotland you walk generally in the middle of the streets.' On either side, filling the spaces between the pillars that upheld the wooden fronts, were the 'booths' of the shopkeepers, but their goods often spread on to the street itself. The towering 'lands' above were laid out in flats in the French style. In one tenement all classes might be represented—lords or ladies, judges, lawyers, ministers, craftsmen, and labourers—the poorer folk on the lowest and highest levels, the richer between. Up and down the narrow winding stair they pattered all day long—gentlemen in their wigs and three-cornered hats, ladies in wide hoops



REID'S CLOSE, CANONGATE, EDINBURGH.

From Sir Daniel Wilson's 'Memorials of Edinburgh.'

and red shoes, barefooted maids with their water-buckets from the public wells, coal-men, fish-wives from Musselburgh with their creels, and messengers of all sorts. Strangers were led about by 'caddies,' or carried in sedan chairs, swaying along on the shoulders of two stalwart Highlandmen. Every night at ten o'clock, or soon after, as the bells of St. Giles's rang out, windows were opened, and with a warning cry of 'Gardy-loo!'* the inmates flung the dirty water and refuse of the day on to the street below, sometimes to splash over the late passer-by, whose shout of 'Haud yer haun!' had not been heard or attended to. Next morning, Sunday excepted, the stuff was hastily swept up in wheelbarrows. But the sewage of a crowded population in their lofty 'lands' was no sweet matter when thus disposed of, and Edinburgh after dark was an evil-smelling place. In summer, for the same reason, it was, according to a great advocate, 'the most unwholesome and unpleasant town in Scotland.' The cleansing of all the Scottish towns, indeed, was chiefly the work of the frequent rains and the high winds. Next to Edinburgh in size and importance came Glasgow, about halt the size of modern Inverness, whose noble cathedral, four straight streets, gardens and orchards, made it look like an English town. In the north Aberdeen was one of the busiest and most prosperous places in the kingdom. From some sides it looked 'as if it stood in a garden or little wood.' 'The dwelling-houses,' wrote a gentleman of the district, 'are cleanly and beautiful, and neat both within and without, and the side that

* Scoto-French, *gardez l'eau* or *gare de l'eau*, 'Look out for water.'

looks to the street mostly adorned with galleries of timber.' It did a large trade with Holland, supplying much of the pork that was used in the Dutch navy, and having a great name for its 'plaidings' and the lambskins which were used in the East of Europe for lining warm cloaks. It was said to bring more money into Scotland, mostly Dutch silver dollars, than any other place. Farther north Inverness was the only town of any size. It supplied the household wants of the Highland districts round about. Its main streets were much like those elsewhere, with smaller and less imposing buildings. But the 'extreme parts' were made up of miserable, turf-covered houses. The outskirts of all the Scottish towns were of this sort, houses of the meaner kind or rows of tumble-down ruins. The heart of the town was the fashionable as well as the trading quarter. The eastern ports did their commerce with Holland, while the wine and other products of France made the business of those on the Ayrshire coast, such as Ayr and 'dainty' Irvine. Ayr was a serious rival to Dumfries, where the Solway was no easy road for shipping. In the west salmon and herring were common artic.s of food, and, when dried or salted, of export to the Continent. So long as Scotland was a chiefly agricultural and fishing community, with but a few struggling factories, and its industries mainly home industries, the towns could not be large. The blue bonnets of the men—only the better classes could wear hats—the brown cloaks of the country people, and the checkered plaids in which all women wrapped themselves 'like harlequins,' were the peculiar parts of the national costume.

5. *Roads and Travelling.*—In the narrower streets of the towns the roadway was banked high, and, if paved with pebbles, very slippery for any but foot travellers. Throughout the country the roads were of the most wretched description, but little worse than those south of the Border. They were usually no more than drove roads for the cattle, or tracks for the pack-horses, which always kept to the higher levels to avoid the marshes and pools and mists of the lower lands. The easiest mode of transit was down the rivers or by the sea. Highland timber was floated down the larger streams to the ports at their mouths. On the Spey men in coracles of the ancient sort, one man paddling in each, towed down the logs fastened to their legs. From the districts not thus served only the bark of the trees could be sent to market, the timber being left to rot on the ground. Ponies could carry the bark, or, where the wood might be sawn, drag the planks along the rough tracks. Even between Edinburgh and Glasgow there was no real road, and it was cheaper and more convenient to send cordage from Glasgow to the Eastern Lowlands by sea. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the attempts to follow England in the introduction of hackney and stage coaches were not successful. Horseback remained the quickest and safest form of travelling. Great lords possessed their lumbering family coaches drawn by six horses, but besides their usual attendants, two tall footmen marched alongside with poles to support the coach from toppling over or assist it when the road became nearly impassable. A highway ran from Edinburgh to Berwick, but even the first few miles out of the

capital were a danger to life, as nothing was easier on its rutted and broken surface than for a horse to stumble and fall or a coach to be upset. Over this road went the horse-post to Berwick for London twice a week, while another horse-post took letters to Portpatrick for Ireland. To the other towns—to Glasgow and the North as far as Inverness—the posts went from the capital on foot once or twice a week, weather permitting. Bridges were few, ferrymen made heavy charges, and drowning at the fords was no uncommon occurrence.

6. *Education and Literature.*—Ever since the Reformation attempts were being made from time to time to secure that every parish in Scotland should have its school. This, however, had not been accomplished by the end of the century. Over most of the Highlands not even a beginning had been made. All the towns, of course, had their burgh schools. The Universities were still poor, but now profited by a share of the rents of the dispossessed bishops. Noblemen's sons and others capable went abroad to finish their education. As a result of the system set up by James VI even many of the Highland chiefs had their share of learning, and were known at the Universities of Aberdeen or St. Andrews. Campbells and Mackenzies had given Scotland able administrators. There was, indeed, a high level of learning among the professional men of Scotland—lawyers, clergymen, and doctors—and among most of the country gentlemen. These were the men who wrote the books of the time, for there was no distinct literary class. But they wrote in English, with some Scotch words and phrases, or in Latin. Only poets,

such as Robert Sempill of Beltrees, carried on the tradition of the ancient 'makars' by composing in Scots. The writings of the time were almost entirely on religious or political subjects arising out of the wars and controversies of Church and State. Samuel Rutherford, in his *Lex Rex* ('Law and King'), maintained the position of Major and Knox and Buchanan that the King was not above the laws, but subject to them. This book was, after the Restoration, burned by the hangman, and to have it in one's possession was a crime. The ablest opponent of this view was Sir George Mackenzie, the King's Advocate. He was a writer on many subjects, and, as such, highly thought of among the English wits. He resented the contempt of the English for the Scottish idiom. The gentry of both countries, he maintained, used nearly the same forms of speech, 'nor do our commons speak so rudely as those of Yorkshire.' 'Our pronunciation,' he wrote, 'is, like ourselves, fiery, abrupt, sprightly, and bold.' Another champion of Scottish excellencies was Sir Thomas Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, also a Cavalier, who made an unsurpassed translation of part of the great French writer Rabelais. Writers and books of all sizes on the controversies of the century are past numbering. Of the historians, the most distinguished and best known for the first part of the century are John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews on the Episcopal side; and David Calderwood, on the side of the Presbyterians. The period after the Restoration had its chief historians in the Presbyterian, Robert Wodrow (died 1734), and Bishop Gilbert

Burnett. The work of the latter, however, was mostly done in England. It was the Church that made the history of Scotland during the seventeenth century, and the records of the struggle are the Scottish literature of the time.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE UNION OF THE PARLIAMENTS: ANNE (1702-1707)

1. *The Situation in Scotland.*—Queen Anne, like her sister Mary, had not chosen her father's part in the Revolution. She was a firm Protestant, but 'entirely English.' Still she was a Stewart, and so not displeasing even to the Jacobites. William had died in the act of shaping great events. He had started the War of the Spanish Succession against his old enemy Louis XIV of France. The problem of the union of the Parliaments had again been brought to the front. The arrangement of the succession to the throne had not yet been adopted by Scotland. By the English Act of Settlement (1701) the Crown, if Anne left no heirs, was to pass to a Protestant granddaughter of James VI, Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover. Other descendants of James were ruled out as Catholics. In Scotland, in its present temper, these were all dangerous topics. The independence of the Scottish Estates had been successfully attacked, and the nation shamed. This was the fact uppermost in the Scottish mind.

2. *The Crown and the Estates.*—It was no longer possible to muzzle the Estates. The Lords of the Articles, who had served this end, were gone. Being gone, other means had to take their place. By the distribution of offices of State, by pensions and such-like ways, a Court party of 'Old Whigs' had been built up which formed the Government. Its head was the Royal Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, another Douglas and a cool, capable statesman. The Parliament which still sat was the Convention Parliament of the Revolution. Contrary to law, it was not dissolved, and Commissioners were at once appointed to proceed with the treaty for union. They stuck fast at the outset. The English would do nothing for the African Company, and plainly were not willing to throw open the colonial trade. Thereupon the Parliament was at last dissolved. A free pardon had been granted to all who had been guilty of acts of treason since the Revolution, and the Queen had requested the Council to protect Episcopalians 'in the peaceable possession of their religion.' On these grounds Queensberry appealed for the support of the Jacobites, or Cavaliers. The result of the elections was a large reduction in the numbers of the Whig Opposition or Country Party, while the Cavalier Opposition shared in the offices of the Government.

3. *The Riding of the Parliament.*—Now was seen for the last time, as it turned out, the imposing ceremony of the 'Riding' of the Scottish Parliament. From Holyrood to the Parliament House the street was cleared of traffic, and a way railed off and lined with soldiers, by which the procession

should pass. The towering houses and forestairs on either side were hung with tapestry and crowded with spectators. All the members rode on horseback, two abreast. First came the burgesses, each attended by one servant, with their horses decked in trappings of black velvet. Then the barons in scarlet mantles, each with a number of servants according to rank, rising to eight for a Duke. These wore above their liveries the coats of arms of their masters on velvet cloaks. In the most conspicuous part of the procession were carried the treasured 'Honours'—the crown, sceptre, and sword of State, their bearers alone riding with uncovered heads, attended by the heralds. The Commissioner with a numerous train brought up the rear. In the Parliament House special benches at the upper end, near the throne, were reserved for the nobility, while the burgesses had their seats lower down.

4. *The Estates Assert their Independence.*—The first business of the Parliament should have been the settling of the succession and the voting of supplies. But the Opposition took its own way. The Cavaliers soon showed that they were there not to support the Government, but to make all the mischief they could. With their support the Whigs of the Country Party who had fought for the Darien scheme, introduced and carried a series of Acts which amounted to a declaration of war against the Parliament of England. The leader of the Opposition as a whole was the Duke of Hamilton, son of the Duke of the Revolution. His father was a Douglas who had secured the dukedom through his wife. The son had all the boldness

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and violence of the Douglases, while as indecisive and unsure as all the Hamiltons had been. But the most prominent member of the Opposition was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a Lothian laird. Distrustful of all Kings, he would reduce their power to a mere shadow. He was 'a low, thin man, brown complexion, full of fire, with a stern, sour look,' who had seen active service in Hungary while an exile under Charles II. Under such guidance the Estates passed a War Act, which affirmed that the Sovereign should have no power to make war on behalf of Scotland without the consent of the Scots Parliament. To make this clearer, a Wine Act allowed the importation of wines from France, with which country Britain was now in a state of war. This Act 'made a great noise' in London; it seemed as if the 'back-door' was again being opened to the national enemy.

5. *The Act of Security* (1703).—But the triumph of the Opposition was the Act of Security. It was mainly the work of Fletcher. It provided that, in the event of Anne dying without a successor, the Estates should select a *Protestant* member of the royal family, who should not be the successor chosen by England, unless such conditions of government were established as would secure 'the honour and sovereignty of this crown and kingdom, the religion, freedom, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence'; and unless there were granted to the Scots, 'a free communication of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of the plantations.' A further clause summoned the nation to arms by providing for the immediate

arming and drilling of the militia in every shire and burgh. The debates on this grave measure were long and disorderly. The Government was helpless. Queensberry gave the royal assent to all other Acts, but to the Act of Security he refused the necessary touch with the sceptre. The passions of the members broke out uncontrollably. Queensberry pressed for the vote of supplies. But the Opposition knew that if this were granted he would adjourn Parliament. The House was crowded with people. The members accused, threatened, and stormed at each other, sometimes with their hands on their swords. Darkness fell, and candles were lighted. Then for two hours there was a ceaseless din while members and strangers of the national party shouted, 'Liberty and no subsidy!' Compromise was impossible. The Act of Security was not 'touched,' no supplies were voted, and Parliament was prorogued.

6. *The Scots Plot* (1703).—Queensberry's Jacobite allies had failed him, even the Duke of Atholl, a member of the Government. This was the proud, passionate Lord John Murray who had disappointed Dundee, and had received a dukedom from William. But Queensberry had now a weapon put into his hand with which he hoped to destroy both Atholl and Hamilton. A few years before Simon Fraser of Lovat had been guilty of an atrocious crime against a member of the family of Atholl. He avoided a sentence of death by a flight to France. There he professed to become a Papist and an ardent Jacobite. He won sufficient credit at the exiled Court of St. Germains with the Pretender and his

mother to be sent back to Scotland as a Jacobite agent with a sum of money, and an unaddressed letter apparently for the Duke of Gordon. But Simon was a rogue intent only on his own interests. He addressed the letter to the Duke of Atholl, his enemy, and then handed it over to Queensberry. He could also tell of a scheme on the part of Hamilton, Atholl, and others for a Highland 'hunting' that very summer, which was to be the beginning of a rising. Queensberry, seeing his enemies delivered into his hands, continued to employ Fraser as a spy, and sent his information to the Queen's Ministers in London. Then another 'plotter' disclosed the whole affair to Atholl. The indignant Duke posted up to London. The House of Lords ordered an inquiry into the 'plot,' a step in which the Scottish Parliament saw further interference with their rights. The chiefs of the Country Party supported the wronged Atholl. The inquiry disclosed nothing but some vague plotting, which was always going on. But Queensberry and his friends were removed from office, and their places taken by the leaders of the Country or New Party.

7. *The Country Party in Office.*—In her letter to the Estates the Queen urged with all the earnestness of which she was capable 'the settling of the succession in the Protestant line.' To this the new Government was agreeable, having been granted their claim that the royal offices should be filled by vote of the Estates. Thus the English Ministers would no longer be able to control the affairs of the independent kingdom. But the Country Party was the smallest section of the Estates. The Queensberry

JAMES DOUGLAS, SECOND DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY (1662–1711).

From an engraving by Du Guernier after the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Whigs would not support them. The Cavaliers would certainly do nothing in the interest of Hanover. The action of the House of Lords in the matter of the plot was protested against. The Act of Security was again introduced and passed. Until the royal assent had been given to that Act the Estates declared they would not pass the Act of Supply, and there was no money to pay the troops in Scotland, already in arrears. Both Acts had therefore to be accepted together. Another Act permitted the free exportation of wool—an attempt to undersell England (1704).

8. *The Aliens Act* (1705).—Thus the rent between the kingdoms was steadily becoming wider. England, while straining every effort against France, was in danger of being crippled by a hostile Scotland. In a House of Lords debate a leading peer declared that things should not have been allowed to come to such a pass. He continued: 'There are two matters of all troubles: much discontent and great poverty; and whoever will now look into Scotland will find them both in that kingdom.' Still, as Scotland was being armed in terms of the Act of Security, the English Parliament could only follow its example. An Aliens Act declared that all Scotsmen not residing in England, Ireland, or the colonies, or serving in the army or navy, should be treated as aliens; forbade the bringing of English horses, arms, or ammunition into Scotland; and excluded from England Scottish cattle, coals, and linen, the most profitable exports. At the same time the Queen was requested to take measures for the defence of the great northern towns, to place

troops on the Border, and call out the militia of the four northern shires.

9. *Queensberry Returns to Power* (1705).—The two kingdoms were now within sight of war. The Government of the Country Party had been a failure. The English Whigs forced its dismissal, and Queensberry and his friends again took office. A new member of the party was the first Duke of Argyll, a young, fiery soldier who had commanded the Scots Brigade in Holland. He had 'seen most of the Courts of Europe,' and his wide possessions, the number of men he could bring into the field, and the power he possessed of 'trying and executing within his own territories,' with his skill as a speaker, made him a person of the first importance. The Earl of Seafield (Ogilvie), a 'man of all parties,' was Chancellor. Queensberry became Commissioner. He took a new line. Instead of the succession the question of union was brought to the front. The Opposition was out-generalled. To the dismay of the Jacobites, the Duke of Hamilton moved that commissioners for the Treaty of Union should be appointed by the Queen, and this was carried. Hamilton is a puzzle. Early in the following year thirty-one Commissioners were appointed by the Queen to draw up the Articles of Union. With one exception, all the Scots were of 'the Court or Whig interest.'

10. *The Treaty of Union* (1706).—In about three months—April to July, 1706—the Commissioners had completed their task, and the twenty-five Articles of Union had been agreed to. One difficulty was got over at the outset by the understanding that

there was to be no question of altering the Church government or service of either kingdom. In the matter of trade England made a full surrender, insisting only that the African Company should be dissolved after compensation. The chief articles of the Treaty were as follows. The kingdoms were to be united under one monarchy and one Parliament. Thus the Union was to be an 'incorporating' and not a 'federal' union. Scotland was to be represented by sixteen peers and forty-five members of the Commons. The Electress of Hanover and her Protestant heirs were to succeed to the throne. Within the United Kingdom and to the colonies all trade was to be free. The coinage and weights and measures were to be the same for both countries, also the duties on imported and exported goods. From certain duties, however, imposed for war purposes, Scotland was in the meantime to be free. The Scottish legal system was to be retained, subject to the control of Parliament. To recompense Scotland for financial losses, and to lighten at the beginning the new burden of taxation, especially the share in the English National Debt, a sum of nearly £400,000 was to be contributed by England. Of this 'Equivalent,' part was to be used in getting rid of Scotland's official debt, mainly salaries in arrear; part was to go to pay off the capital, with interest, of the African Company, thus making good the losses at Darien; and the rest was to be applied to the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures.

11. *The Act of Union* (*January* 16, 1707).—The Treaty had now to be ratified by both Parliaments.

To Scotland was given the honour of being first In the last session of the Estates Queensberry was again Commissioner. Mild, prudent, and steady, no better man could have occupied so critical a position. The Scottish Parliament was now a free debating assembly, and as the rules of debate were also rather free and the orators many, the discussions were long and bitter. All through the stormy sittings, pamphlets and other writings were showered on the country, almost entirely against the proposals. The evil which they were likely to do was exaggerated, the good made light of. The national independence, that 'most noble monument of antiquity,' was to be bartered 'for some hogsheads of sugar, indigo, and stinking tobacco of the plantation trade.' Such arguments were mainly the work of the Jacobite party, who noisily opposed every step in the proceedings. Nationalists like Fletcher argued for a 'federal' instead of an 'incorporating' union. Petitions against the Treaty poured in from many burghs and shires, and from some presbyteries. The scornful Duke of Argyll proposed making kites of them. Outside, the populace of Edinburgh 'cursed and reviled' Queensberry 'to his face' as he drove to Holyrood under the protection of the Guards, and gave their cheers and approval to Hamilton in his sedan-chair. Edinburgh, of course, would lose by the disappearance of Parliament, both in dignity and business. In Glasgow, too, there was a riot because the Council would not petition against the Union. At Dumfries and at Kirkcudbright a copy of the articles was publicly burned. The Church, as a

whole, maintained a watchful, impartial attitude. Its fears regarding a Parliament in which the great majority should be Episcopalians, were provided for. The opening words of the Act of Ratification made the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland, as it stood, 'a fundamental and essential condition of the Union.' The wise action of the Church helped much to the success of the measure. That, however, was assured when the Whig Country Party, now known as the *Squadrone Volante* (Flying Squadron) gave in its support. Led by the brilliant young Duke of Roxburgh (Ker), they held the scales between Courtiers and Cavaliers. They were not affected by the tearing passion of the Earl of Belhaven, who delivered the most famous oration against the Union, which he took care to print. He pleaded for united action against a conquering enemy. 'Hannibal,' he said, 'is at our gates. Hannibal is come the length of this table—he is at the foot of this throne ; he will demolish this throne if we take not notice—he'll seize upon these regalia —he'll whip us out of this house never to return again.' This appeal he repeated on bended knees. But against the eloquence of Belhaven the Government could count on the more powerful oratory of the Earl of Stair, still under the shadow of Glencoe. He had held no office since that occurrence, though admitted to be the ablest of the Scottish statesmen, and now worked in the interests of his country as a 'volunteer.' He died suddenly just as the end was in sight. The twenty-second article, which fixed the number of Scottish representatives, was a critical stage. The carrying

of this article was to be the signal for a great protest on the part of the Opposition. They were to retire in a body from the House. Hamilton was to lead. When the time came, Hamilton had to be sent for, and then refused to take action. Opposition was over. On January 16, 1707, the Act of Ratification of the Treaty of Union passed the Estates.

12. *The Union Completed.*—It is clear from the names on the division lists that the nobles provided a greater share of supporters of the Union than either of the other two estates. Many of them owed to the Government offices or pensions or places of profit. It was also maintained that not a few had been directly bribed out of a sum of about £8,000. On the other hand, much of this was due for expenses incurred in official work and not yet paid. The Duke of Atholl got £1,000, but he did not support the Union. Others who received payments were not members of Parliament. To favour the trading classes, also, certain changes were made in the terms of the Treaty. These considerations, with the prospect of the cash Equivalent which would make up for the money lost at Darien, helped to tone down the opposition to a measure which was not pleasing to the national sentiment. The Jacobites called the Equivalent 'the price of Scotland.' The Union got a warmer welcome in England than in Scotland. It was made clear to the English Parliament that it would be wise to accept the Treaty without change, in the form in which it had come from the Estates. This was cleverly managed, and on March 6, 1707, the

royal assent was given to the ratifying Act on the part of England. It came back to the Estates in this form at their meeting on March 19, and when the Earl of Seafield, 'as Chancellor, signed the engrossed exemplification of the Act of Union, he returned it to the clerk, in the face of Parliament, with this despising and contemning remark: "*Now there's ane end of ane old song.*"' On May 1 the two Parliaments became one, and, amid scenes of public rejoicing, Anne drove to a thanksgiving service in St. Paul's.

CHAPTER XXXIV

'IMPROVING' THE UNION—THE RISINGS OF THE 'FIFTEEN' AND THE 'NINETEEN': ANNE (1707-1714); GEORGE I (1714-1719)

1. *The New Duties and Smuggling.*—The accomplishment of the Union left a feeling of soreness in Scotland even among those who had not opposed it. The benefits could come only in course of time, while the burden of English taxation fell at once on a country still suffering from the effects of the famine years. English officials had to be brought down to make a beginning of the collection of the new duties in the English way. This was very strict, which the Scottish practice had never been. On such articles as wine and brandy, largely consumed in Scotland, the duties were now five to eight times heavier than they had been. There was thus great temptation to smuggling. What had been worth

Emery Walker.

PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STUART, 'THE OLD PRETENDER' (1688-1766).

From the painting by Anton Rafael Mengs in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

little before now became a very profitable business. But it was also more dangerous, for swift revenue vessels watched the seas for the Dutch 'luggers' which brought over the stuff, while mounted 'preventive men' kept guard on the coast. To deal with such offences among others, Justices of the Peace were revived in Scotland. But people of all classes sympathized with the smugglers, and the 'fair trade' soon became a glaring feature of Scottish life.

2. *A Jacobite Armada* (1708).—Of these circumstances the friends of the Pretender, or Chevalier St. George, were not slow to make use. Their hope was in help from the aged King of France. He, of course, was ready to do what he could to cripple his victorious enemy of England. Colonel Hook, the Jacobite agent, reported Scotland, in disgust at the Union, ready for a rising. Really, the Scottish Jacobites were divided between the parties of Hamilton and Atholl. The Chevalier, too, was a firm Catholic, and Protestant Scotland would never excite itself to restore a Catholic dynasty. However, a fleet was gathered at Dunkirk to transport to Scotland 5,000 men and a large supply of arms. That country was quite defenceless. In Stirling Castle was only one barrel of gunpowder. But in England a fleet was hastily got together under Sir George Byng. It reached the Forth a few hours after the arrival of the French. At first the British ships were taken for the Danish merchantmen which came yearly to Scotland for coal. When their true character was discovered, the French sheered off. James pleaded to be landed anywhere, but he was

not listened to. The Scottish Jacobites were left to their 'grief.'

3. *Hamilton Gets off the Arrested Jacobites.*—On suspicion of being concerned in this invasion, twenty-two gentlemen were arrested, including not only Hamilton and Lord Belhaven, but also Fletcher of Saltoun. They were taken up to London for trial —another insult to Scotland. But Hamilton made a compact with the Whig Ministry, then much in need of political help. On condition of the prisoners being released, he and his friends promised to act with the Scottish Whigs, whose leaders were the old Squadron. This 'was one of the nicest steps the Duke of Hamilton ever made.' All the prisoners were set free except three Stirlingshire gentlemen, who had actually appeared in arms. These were sent down to be tried in Edinburgh, where they secured a verdict of 'not proven.' This case showed that the Scottish law of treason was too easy, and an Act 'for improving the Union' was passed, making that law the same as in England. The measure was opposed in vain by all the Scottish representatives, including the Squadron Whigs. Another 'improvement' was the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council—another 'old song.'

4. *Trouble with the Episcopalians.*—The Scottish Members of Parliament were not finding their position a pleasant one. They were made fun of for what seemed to English eyes oddities of behaviour and speech. They met with 'uncivil, haughty treatment.' When united in opposition to some change to be made in Scotland, they were bluntly outvoted. The interests of their country became

party weapons in the bitter warfare of Whigs and Tories. The bargain between the former and the Scottish Jacobites for the first General Election in Scotland failed to secure its end. It brought out the Presbyterians against them. They returned only a small number of the members of both Houses. The Union and its Whig framers were even already in deep disfavour. The many Englishmen who had crossed the Border were mostly Episcopalians, and brought north their own ministers. The English Book of Common Prayer had been introduced earlier in the reign. The English kept apart from the Scotch Episcopalians, who were to a man Jacobites. But the Presbyterians made no distinction. They were bent on putting down the 'meeting-house preachers.' In the east they proceeded against them by law; in the west and other districts they mobbed the preachers and their congregations. The House of Lords declared against the Presbyterian claims to close the meeting-houses, and the English people took it as a great offence that their national Church service should be made a crime in the United Kingdom.

5. *The Toleration Act* (1712).—The Tories had now ousted the Whigs from power, and to settle this question they passed a Toleration Act. It allowed Episcopal ministers to hold their services, and ordered the magistrates to protect them. When the Whig House of Lords insisted that Episcopal ministers should pray for the Protestant heirs to the throne, and take an oath abjuring the Pretender, their opponents made these provisions apply also to the Presbyterian clergy. Thus a division was created

on both sides. The Jacobite Episcopalians, mostly Scotch, refused the oath, and were known as 'Non-Jurors.' The Presbyterians resented the claim to direct them in their prayers. Moreover, the abjuration oath made them swear to accept monarchs who were members of the Church of England. The form of words was afterwards altered to avoid this, but a cause of quarrel was planted in the Church, many refusing to comply and condemning those who did.

6. *The Patronage Act* (1712).—But 'the greatest crush to the ministry' of the Church was the revival of patronage. By an Act of the same year the right of selecting ministers was taken from the elders and the heritors, or in towns the magistrates, and restored to the great proprietors. This was a Jacobite move. Many of the gentry were Jacobites, and it was hoped that in this way they would be able to fill their parishes with ministers favouring a restoration, or at least of moderate opinions in politics and religion. The General Assembly pronounced against the Act, and for many years no patron ventured to exercise his right. The irritation caused by such treatment of Scotland at last became so strong that in the summer of 1713 the Scottish members had a proposal made in the House of Lords to dissolve the Union. The Whigs voted for this step, the Tories against it. Neither party was honest. Each was seeking an advantage in view of the crisis which should arise at the Queen's death. The proposal was lost by four votes.

7. *Failure of the Jacobite Plans.*—If the Union was unpopular in Scotland, no less so was the Hanoverian

succession in England. Anne was a Tory, and favoured the doctrines of hereditary succession and passive obedience. But the standing obstacle to a restoration, what ruined every chance, was that James was a Roman Catholic. On the other hand, the Electress Sophia was dead, and her son George, while a Protestant, was clearly partial to the Whigs. The Tory leaders, therefore, adopted the Jacobite cause. They placed the army under the Duke of Ormond, who was supposed to staff it with Jacobite officers. The shifty Earl of Mar was Secretary for Scotland. The Duke of Argyll, commanding the forces in Scotland, accused him of distributing £4,000 yearly among the Highland chiefs. He was able to reply that this had been done since the time of William. In fact, the way was being secretly paved for the succession of James. It was hoped he would sacrifice his religion for a crown. James was too honest to do anything of the sort. But before the preparations were complete Anne suddenly fell ill, and in a couple of days was dead (August 1, 1714). The Whig leaders, including Argyll, took prompt action, and on the very day of Anne's death George, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed King.

GEORGE I

8. *The Jacobites in France.*—The accession of the first King of the House of Hanover was received as peaceably in Scotland as in England. In Edinburgh and Aberdeen a few reckless spirits shouted for 'James VIII' in the streets, and there was drink-

ing of toasts to 'the King over the water.' But the Earl of Mar promptly ordered the magistrates of Aberdeen to put down such treasonable performances. For the present he was more than anxious to secure the good-will of George. He was even able to promise him the allegiance of the Highland chiefs. But, as a member of the late Government, he was a marked man, and he was removed from being Scottish Secretary. The General Election gave the Whigs a majority both in England and Scotland. To escape impeachment the Tory chiefs fled to the Pretender in France. Arrangements were set on foot for an invasion of Britain, with the assistance of France; but in September the great Louis died. The new King of France was a sickly boy, and the Regent desired no trouble with Britain.

9. '*The Fifteen.*'—But less than a week after Louis' death the disappointed Mar had taken action on his own account, and at a gathering of Jacobite gentlemen at Braemar proclaimed the Chevalier as James VIII. A similar proclamation was then made at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal (Keith); at Dunkeld by the Marquis of Tullibardine (Murray), eldest son of Atholl, who did not move; at Castle Gordon by the Marquis of Huntly, heir to the Duke of Gordon, who himself followed Atholl's example; at Brechin by the Earl of Panmure (Maule); at Montrose by the Earl of Southesk (Carnegie); at Dundee, and later at Perth and other places. They did not find it so easy to raise their tenantry. Even Mar had to resort to burning cornyards to force out the backward ones on his own estates. In Ross-shire the Earl of Seaforth called out the Mackenzies, not

without some protests. A body of Macintoshes under William Macintosh of Borlum, not the chief, seized Inverness, and Seaforth provided a garrison. Farther north the Munroes, Rosses, and Mackays remained loyal under the Earl of Sutherland. Fort William held out behind its twelve-pounders. Argyll's brother, the Earl of Islay, checked a raid of Appin Stewarts, Macleans, and Macgregors in Argyllshire; but when these and the other Jacobite clans—Camerons and Macdonalds—joined the men of the east at Perth, Mar had under him a force of 16,000 men, and held the country from the Moray Firth to the Forth. Arms and ammunition arrived in the eastern ports from France, and a troop of cavalry made a raid which resulted in the capture of a similar cargo on board a Government vessel in the Forth.

10. *Argyll at Stirling.*—Meantime, the royal troops had occupied and entrenched themselves at Stirling. They thus held the only easy passage into the Lowlands. The Duke of Argyll, 'Red John of the Battles,' who had seen service under Marlborough, arrived to take command. His little army was increased by levies from the towns. Edinburgh and Glasgow sent large bodies of volunteers, and the smaller towns contributed according to their size. The Whig Presbyterians sank their dislike of the Union in hatred of a Catholic King. The ministers in town and country urged their flocks to take the field, and even some of themselves appeared in arms. Still the royal army did not rise beyond three or four thousand men, but they were well equipped, and had capable officers.

11. *The Jacobites in England.*—Their presence at Stirling cut off Mar from his Border and English friends. Macintosh, now a Brigadier, was, therefore, sent with a column of Highlanders to their assistance. He cleverly brought his men across the Forth, and marched to Kelso. There he was joined by the English Jacobites under Mr. Forster, a gentleman of Northumberland, and the Earl of Derwentwater, with whom was the small Border following led by the Catholic Earl of Nithsdale (Maxwell) and Viscount Kenmure (Gordon). But the Border lairds generally either remained inactive or donned the black cockade* of Hanover. Against the wish of the Highlanders, many of whom now deserted, it was determined to march into the West of England. But the little army of 1,400 men received few recruits there. Like the Engagers of 1648, they met their fate at Preston. General Wills attacked them in that town. Macintosh took command, and fighting in the streets went on all day, and by the light of the burning houses through the night. The arrival of strong reinforcements for Wills enabled him to surround the town. The Highlanders would have fought it out with the broadsword, but were overruled. On the morning of November 14 the Jacobites, seven lords and over a thousand men, laid down their arms.

12. *The Battle of Sheriffmuir* (*November* 13).—The day before the surrender at Preston the issue had been decided in Scotland. Mar, 'Bobbing John,' —he was a hunchback—had no soldierly experience, and none of the qualities of a leader. But having

* A white cockade was the Jacobite badge.

received all likely to join him, he had to cease 'amusing' himself at Perth. With about 12,000 men he advanced to force the passage of the Forth. But Argyll was not to be shut in at Stirling. He, too, advanced, to the first rise of the Ochils overlooking Dunblane and the Perth road. On his right was the slightly frozen morass of the Sheriffmuir. Mar could get no farther without fighting. Both armies, therefore, drew up for battle, but neither understood the position of the other. Argyll saw only Mar's right; he was 'vastly outflanked' by Mar's left behind some rising ground. There the Highlanders swarming down upon their opponents, discharged and threw away their muskets; then turned aside the bayonets with their targets, and attacked with sword and dirk. The regular soldiers 'being unacquainted with this savage way of fighting, against which all the rules of war had made no provision,' gave way in confusion. The mingled mass swept down the road to Stirling. But Argyll, with his cavalry, had also driven Mar's left off the field. The remnants of both armies re-formed within sight of each other. Mar, however, waiting for his victorious right, did not attack, and, when the short day closed, drew off towards Perth. This check was as good as a victory. Three days before, Inverness had fallen, partly through the efforts of Simon Fraser of Lovat. He had brought back the Frasers from Mar's side, and was rewarded with a pardon and the restoration of his estates.

13. *The Chevalier in Scotland.*—Mar's retreat was the signal for the Highlanders to begin to slip away. Strong reinforcements reached Argyll, but a heavy

snowfall blocked the roads. Late in December the Chevalier, with a few attendants, appeared at Peterhead. Aberdeen gave him a becoming welcome. But the silent, pale, melancholy figure put no spirit into his disheartened soldiers at Perth. He busied himself with issuing proclamations, and preparing for his coronation at Scone. He had come, he said, to relieve Scotland from 'the late unhappy Union.' When at last Argyll cleared a way through the snow, the Jacobites began a retreat eastwards. They had not sufficient powder to last an engagement. Then the Highlanders went off in crowds. At Montrose the Chevalier, Mar, and some other leaders, suddenly embarked for France. At Aberdeen the army broke up; the 'Fifteen' was over.

14. *Fate of the Prisoners.*—The prisoners from Preston suffered worst. London clamoured for severe punishment. Brigadier Macintosh, however, forced his way out of Newgate. The Earl of Nithsdale, with the help of his wife, made his escape from the Tower 'dressed in a woman's cloak and hood, which since are called "Nithsdales."' Thirty of the men of lower rank were hanged, and many banished to the plantations. Eighty-nine of the prisoners taken in Scotland were brought for trial to Carlisle. The Government had good reason to fear that a Scottish jury would not convict them out of sheer spite to England. After all, Jacobitism was only extreme patriotism. But trial at Carlisle was received as an affront, a reflection on the loyalty of Edinburgh, and a breach of the legal arrangements of the Union. Even good Whigs subscribed to a fund for the defence of the prisoners, and Scottish

lawyers were sent to act for them at Carlisle. They were let off easily. None suffered under their sentence of death. The Scottish statesmen advised gentle dealing. An Act of Grace in 1717 set all the prisoners free. The estates of the Jacobite leaders had been forfeited, and they, with the Ishmaelite Macgregors, were not included in the benefits of this Act.

15. *The Episcopal Clergy and the Rising.*—The Scots Episcopal clergy had not been backward in showing their devotion to the hereditary succession. While Mar held the North, they had driven away the parish ministers, occupied their pulpits, and preached and prayed for 'King James.' Many were now arrested and fined under the Toleration Act. This class, however, was also included in the Act of Grace. But it had been made clear that the Scots Episcopal Church as a body was bound up with the Jacobite interest, while the Presbyterian Church was on the side of the reigning house. The Lowland gentlemen who were Jacobites were so because they wished to see Episcopacy restored. In 1719 an Act was passed forbidding any Episcopalian minister to hold service with more than nine persons besides his own household, until he had taken the oath disowning the Pretender and had prayed by name for King George.

16. *The 'Nineteen'* (1719).—The cause of the Chevalier continued to be the sport of European politics. At one time it was taken up by the madcap King of Sweden, Charles XII, who had a personal quarrel with George. But the British Government discovered what was going on, and the plot

fell through. The British Ambassador at Paris, the second Earl of Stair, insisted upon the expulsion of the Chevalier from France. He became 'Jamie the Rover,' and finally settled down under the protection of the Pope in Rome. Next, Britain opposed the ambitious schemes of Spain, and the Spanish Minister, Alberoni, invited the Earl Marischal, Ormond, and finally James himself, to Madrid. A fresh scheme was prepared for the invasion of England and Scotland.

17. *Battle of Glenshiel* (*April* 10, 1719).—Ormond, with a fleet, started for England, but the expedition was destroyed by a storm. Three other ships, however, carried the Earl Marischal, Tullibardine, Seaforth, and Lochiel, with 300 Spanish soldiers, to the island of Lewis. Thence they crossed to Loch Alsh in Seaforth's country. The Spanish vessels were sent away; none too soon, for five ships of war presently appeared on the coast. These destroyed the stores of ammunition and food which had been landed. The Highlanders, who had been summoned by their chiefs, were slow to come in. 'Not above a thousand men appeared, and even these seemed not very fond of the enterprise.' The Jacobite leaders were at odds among themselves. General Wightman marched West with the Inverness garrison, and attacked their little army in the pass of Glenshiel. After some hours of hard fighting the Highlanders were driven up the mountain. Next morning the helpless Spaniards surrendered. 'Everybody else,' wrote Tullibardine, 'went off to shift for themselves.' The Spaniards were conducted to Edinburgh, but set at liberty six months later.

18. *The Exiled Court.*—The quarrelsome leaders in this luckless affair found their way back to the Continent. James returned to Rome, and his residence there under the protection of the Pope helped to blacken his cause in Britain. He married Maria Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of John Sobieski, the heroic King of Poland. In 1720 was born their son, Charles Edward, 'the young Pretender.' The Jacobite cause almost flickered out amid jealousies and unpleasantness. Mar played a doubtful part, and was for a time a pensioner of the British Government. Seaforth fell out with James, made friends with George II, and came home. James Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal, entered the Russian service, following the example of an earlier Scottish soldier, Patrick Gordon, commander of the army of Peter the Great. There was not at this time a camp or a Court in Europe in which Scotsmen were not to be found.

CHAPTER XXXV

SCOTLAND BEFORE THE 'FORTY-FIVE': GEORGE II (1727)

1. *Growth of the Linen Industry.*—For the first quarter of a century after the Union Scotland had little good of it. Her few carefully nursed manufactures of the better class went down before the competition of England. Those for which she was naturally fitted, such as the production of linen, had to make a fresh start. An able Provost of

Edinburgh, also its member of Parliament, urged his countrymen to devote themselves to the linen manufacture, on the ground that every nation should confine itself to the industries for which it had natural advantages. He even spoke of it in 1735 as 'the only way now left us to prevent our utter ruin.' By this time it was being pursued in twenty-five counties, though its chief seats were in Forfar and Fife, where they still are. Some of the balance of the Equivalent was applied to its encouragement. Schools were set up for instruction in spinning. The spinning-wheel took the place of the distaff. The quality of the flax grown was improved. French weavers were settled in 'Little Picardy,' Edinburgh, to instruct the native workers in the making of fine cambrics. The Duke of Argyll was the head of a company of nobles and merchants who formed the British Linen Company to aid the rapidly growing industry. Within twenty years the company could be turned into a bank to supply capital to enterprising merchants. A special branch of the linen trade arose at Paisley in the making of thread. The beginning was made by a clever spinster, Christina Shaw, daughter of the Laird of Bargarran. The fine 'Bargarran thread' was soon famous in both kingdoms. At first it was ail made by hand. Then another member of the family, being in Holland, discovered the secret of the machinery used in the thread manufacture there. The secret could not be kept in Scotland, and in about twenty years (1742) nearly a hundred mills were at work. In the same way Mrs. Fletcher of Saltoun managed, by a trick, to

get information as to the kind of machinery by which the Dutch weavers produced their fine linen or 'Hollands.' This, too, grew into a valuable industry. But the merchants had still to dispose of their goods mainly by travelling with their samples on horse-back to the fairs and markets of the English towns.

2. *Wool and Cattle.*—On the other side were serious losses. Scotland's attempts to match English broadcloth were a failure. And the new duties killed the export of wool to the Continent. England became the only market outside the home country. When so much coarse wool was raised this meant a fall in price. The farmers of the Border counties and the Highlands might have been ruined but for a rise in another direction. There was a great English demand for cattle. At the 'trysts' of Falkirk and Crieff English drovers bought up the 'black cattle' from the Highlands. Some of the beasts would have been 'lifted'* from neighbouring clans or from lowland farms. Formerly in the Highlands beef had been as cheap or cheaper than oatmeal. Now it was three or four times as dear. The Galloway landlords began to improve their stock by introducing animals from Ireland, and to evict their tenants to make way for large cattle-farms. Many Scottish nobles did not disdain having a hand in this profitable business. The Earl of Seafield spoke scornfully to his brother about his meddling in such a trade. 'Better sell nowt (cattle) than nations,' was the reply, an unkindly cut at Sea-field's share in the Union. Cattle thieves flourished, too, on the Borders as well as in the Highlands.

* *I.e.*, stolen.

3. *Decline of the Eastern Ports.*—But while the cattle trade prospered, another equally important almost perished. The English duties on salt ruined the curing of fish. Fishing became quite unprofitable. This terrible falling off, with the loss of the overseas trade in wool and fish, told heavily on the eastern seaports. Most of the once busy little Fife towns sank into 'heaps of decay.' Dunfermline was saved by its damasks, Dysart by its salt-pans. The seafaring population took to smuggling—running their goods into distant creeks and coves, and so helping to the ruin of lawful harbours. Only the clergy and the merchants of the towns denounced the 'fair trade.' The other classes were too pleased to get their brandy and tea and tobacco free of the hated English taxes.

4. *Glasgow and the Tobacco Trade.*—Commerce, indeed, had gone West. For many years back, before the Union, an illegal trade had been carried on between the Clyde and the American colonies. Now the 'plantations' were open. Glasgow sent out its plaidings, linens, and cured herrings, and took in return the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia. The great merchants of Glasgow became 'tobacco lords.' They ousted the English western towns, such as Bristol, from the American trade. At first Glasgow had to hire its ships in England. But in 1718 the first Clyde-built vessel entered the trade. Next year Greenock, having since the Union built for itself the biggest harbour in Scotland, sent a ship of its own. In less than twenty years the Clyde could boast of sixty-seven vessels trading with Virginia, Boston, and the West Indies. The

Clyde being at low water only a shallow stream, a port was established for Glasgow lower down the river. Pack-horses then carried the goods to and from Port Glasgow. In 1727 Glasgow was a 'stately and well-built city,' with busy factories, sugar and tobacco houses, and so reputed for its cured herrings 'that a Glasgow herring is esteemed as good as a Dutch one.' Aberdeen made an effort to share in the plantation trade, but its position was against it. Glasgow even robbed Inverness of its customers in the Western Isles.

5. *Beginnings of a New Agriculture.*—The first half of the century saw little change in the rude methods of farming. The first step to improvement was to enclose the fields with dry stone walls or hedges. This provoked opposition. The herdsmen saw their occupation gone. Farmers, with good reason, feared an increase in rent. So in Galloway bands of men and women, 'levellers,' went out at night and threw down the enclosing walls. Soldiers were needed to 'calm' them. It was in Scotland as it had been in England, where enclosing the fields began earlier—only very slowly did the practice spread. Hard as it is to imagine the Scottish farm lands without hedges or fences or dikes or belts of wood, it is harder still to think of them without potatoes or turnips or rich pastures of grass and clover. Yet for the greater part of the century these plants were almost unknown. There was a marked advance by the time that potatoes were carried on horseback from Kirkcudbright to Edinburgh, and sold by the pound. Turnips were a garden crop and a table delicacy. For years not

even bribes could induce farmers to sow them in their fields. The Duchess of Gordon—an Englishwoman—in Morayshire, and the Earl of Haddington, in East Lothian, introduced to their tenants the improved farming methods of England, and sowed artificial grasses. Practical farmers scoffed at the 'English weeds.' They regarded the experiments of their landlords as simply a new form of aristocratic amusement. Nor was the soil yet in a condition to give satisfactory returns on the new crops. Moreover, the tenant farmers did not care to lay out in this way the little capital they possessed. They feared a rise in rents. They were a saving class who, with the burgesses of the towns, could loan money at interest to extravagant noblemen. The Scottish peasantry might live and dress poorly, but they were, on the whole, satisfied with their lot. Not till the century was well advanced and a new generation had grown up did the revolution in agriculture make headway.

6. *Mechanical Improvements.*—Even of their crops of coarse barley and oats Scottish farmers, with their rude contrivances, could not make the best use. The grain was beaten from the straw with flails, and the chaff separated by exposure in a windy place. Then the barley was pounded in a stone mortar, and the oats coarsely ground in a mill or by hand in the quern. There were some windmills, and Lochiel set up water-mills for the use of his clan. Here, again, the Saltoun family borrowed Dutch inventions. They employed two clever mechanics in James Meikle and his son Andrew. Henry Fletcher, brother of the famous Andrew, was

tenant of Saltoun Mill. His enterprising wife, who had already started the making of Hollands, now conveyed from Holland a winnowing machine, or fanners, and a barley-mill. The result was the 'Saltoun barley meal,' which became a household name in Scotland, and the secret of which was long jealously kept by Mrs. Fletcher. In the closing years of the century Andrew Meikle, the first of Scotland's great engineers, invented the threshing-mill. To spread and add to the new knowledge there was formed in 1723 the *Society of Improvers of Knowledge of Agriculture*, which did most valuable service.

7. *Roads are Made in the Highlands.*—The project of opening up the Highlands by means of roads had already been put forward in Parliament by the Scottish members. Great forests of pine and fir still existed there, while the Lowlands imported timber all the way from Norway. The Government was at last forced to undertake this work for military reasons. It was begun in 1726, and went on for about eleven years. In that time General Wade and his soldiers had completed about 250 miles of roads with forty small bridges, carried through glens, up mountain-sides, and blasted out along the steep margins of lochs. These, a leading engineer claimed, were 'bating ups and downs,' as good as any to be found in England. The main branches were from Crieff and Perth northwards to Inverness, and from Inverness down the Great Glen to Fort William, while another branch joined Fort Augustus to the main highway from Perth. The line of military stations was completed by 'Fort

George' at Inverness. An armed 'galley' was built on Loch Ness, and smaller military posts were scattered over the country. By such precautions, in addition to the roads, it was believed another Jacobite rising was put out of the question.

8. *Disarming the Highlands.*—More direct measures, too, were taken to the same end. Highlanders were made formidable by their habit of wearing weapons and being regularly trained in their use. Peace with England had caused this practice to cease in the South. After the 'Fifteen' an Act was passed imposing a fine on Highlanders found to possess or use arms. But the fines could not be exacted, and only old, useless weapons were given up in return for the Government's reward. In 1725 the Act was strengthened. The Lords-Lieutenant were given power to search for and force the surrender of weapons. This brought in a large amount, but chiefly from the northern and loyal clans. The disaffected ones managed to palm off on the officials what was of little service, and 'to keep and secure the best.' An outlet for the warlike leanings of Highlanders was wisely found in the revival of the Government police, known from their dark tartan as the 'Black Watch.' The companies were afterwards raised to a regiment, which was sent abroad, and as 'the only regiment that could be kept to its duty,' formed the rearguard at the disastrous retreat of Fontenoy (1745).

9. *The Malt Tax and the Riots* (1725).—Since the close of the last war (1713) Scotland had been subject to a tax on malt, but owing to the feeling of the country it was not thought wise to enforce it.

Now, however, money had to be raised, for the Scottish Government barely paid expenses, and in 1712 half the proper amount, or threepence a bushel, was imposed upon Scotland. Resistance at once took a violent form. The Excise officers found it impossible to enter the malt-houses of Glasgow. To their support Wade sent across two companies of soldiers from Edinburgh under Captain Bushell. They were received with threats and jeers. As the keys of the guard-house could not be found, the soldiers had to be billeted among the inhabitants. That night the mob rose and destroyed the house of their Member of Parliament. In the afternoon of the next day they assembled in even greater numbers, and beset the soldiers now in the guard-house. When these turned out they were received with volleys of stones. At last Captain Bushell ordered them to fire, and several fell dead and wounded. The rest scattered, only to return shortly with arms of their own. The Provost advised the soldiers to retire, which they did, marching to Dumbarton, but again having to fire on their pursuers. Eleven persons had been killed and seventeen wounded. For this affair the Provost and magistrates were arrested, but afterwards released, when the city was fined a sum of £5,000 to repay their member for the damage he had suffered. In Edinburgh another method of resistance was adopted. The brewers organized a strike among themselves. The vigorous action of the Earl of Islay and the new Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes, strengthened by a decision of the Court of Session that the combination was illegal, brought the strike to an end

after it had lasted a week. Bushell, who had fired on the mob without proclaiming the Riot Act, was formally tried for murder and found guilty, but received a royal pardon. Riots in other large towns were prevented by Wade's promptness in sending troops.

10. *Politica Changes.*—The outburst over the malt tax brought about a change in the political arrangements of Scotland. It could not escape the effects of English party strife. Until now the Government had been in the hands of the Squadron Whigs, and their leader, the Duke of Roxburgh, was Scottish Secretary of State. Argyll had fallen into disfavour with George I, and had joined the party of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. But the Prince and he quarrelled, and Argyll took over his Whig allies to the support of the King's party and the first of the Prime Ministers, Robert Walpole. Walpole took occasion of the Malt Riots to dismiss Roxburgh. The office of Secretary was suspended. In the meantime Scottish affairs passed into the hands of one of the ordinary Secretaries of State, the eccentric Duke of Newcastle. Really, however, Scotland for more than a dozen years was managed by the Earl of Islay and Lord Advocate Forbes, who in 1737 became Lord President of the Court of Session.

11. *The Secession.*—Though some of the more zealous clergy could deplore that in Scotland interest in Church politics was fading before the new interest in trade, enough of the old spirit was left to make trouble. The cause of contention was the outcome of the Patronage Act. So far it had been

almost a dead-letter, and the earlier custom of choosing a minister had generally continued. The elders and heritors made the choice, and the congregation the formal 'call.' But in some cases a difference arose. The people objected to the person proposed for their acceptance. When the Presbytery supported the congregation, the Assembly sent down a 'riding committee' to override the local courts and settle the presentee. 'Intrusion' of this sort was met by a rain of protests. Then in 1732 the Assembly passed an Act transferring the power to 'call,' as well as propose, to the heritors and elders. Of those who opposed this measure the leader was the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling. He protested that the Assembly was slighting the people of the Church in order to favour 'the heritors and the great ones of the world.' He preached a sermon at Stirling in which he denounced the majority in unmeasured language. For this he was called to account by the Synod. He appealed to the Assembly, which in 1733 approved of the action of the Synod and censured Erskine. Erskine refused to submit to the sentence, and thereupon he and three ministers who supported him were suspended for three months. When that time expired the ministers were still rebellious. Thereupon they were 'loosed' from their charges. The four presented a protest in which they declared themselves under the necessity of separating from 'the prevailing party in this Established Church.' Early in 1734 they constituted themselves the Associate Presbytery.

12. *The Associate Presbytery.*—At this division in

their ranks the Assembly took alarm. In the hope of winning back the seceders, who had a considerable following, everything that had given offence was quickly undone. The Act of 1732 was repealed. 'Riding committees' were forbidden. Several appeals against 'intrusion' were upheld. The Assembly recorded a protest against patronage, and in 1736 affirmed it to be a principle of the Church that no minister should be forced on an unwilling congregation. Meantime the Synod was requested to restore the ministers, which they did handsomely, electing Erskine their Moderator. But the seceders were not satisfied. They still found many faults in the Church. They would not return except on stringent terms, and these the Assembly could not accept. After much bitter controversy the seceders were finally deposed in 1740. They now numbered eight ministers, including Erskine's brother Ralph. Their adherents were most numerous in the smaller burghs. Four years later the seceders revived the Covenants, and made their acceptance a condition of membership.

13. *Episcopalian Divisions.*—The Presbyterians were not alone in their differences. The Episcopal Church, too, was divided. Up to their disestablishment at the Revolution there had been no Prayer Book in use. Now one party adopted that of England, the other the old Scottish book of Laud, accompanied by certain 'Usages' in the ritual of a Romish cast. The poverty of the Church, too, made it extremely difficult to have bishops in settled districts or dioceses. Thus had grown up the ordination of 'bishops at large,' who formed a

'College.' This body was favoured by the 'Trustees' who looked after Jacobite interests, and by James himself, who, though a Catholic, wished to retain his prerogative of appointing bishops. On the other hand, a strong party demanded diocesan bishops, elected by the Church itself. This was the party which favoured the Scottish Liturgy. A compromise was arrived at on both heads in 1731. But the Jacobitism of the Church was the burden which was soon to grind it almost to powder.

14. *The Porteous Affair* (1736).—In the thick of the excitement over the Church controversies occurred the mysterious affair of the Porteous Riot. Two smugglers, Wilson and Robertson, had broken into the lodging of the Custom-House officer at Pittenweem, and possessed themselves of a large sum of money. Wilson had been ruined by recent seizures of his smuggled goods. Both men were arrested and sentenced to death. While confined in the Tolbooth Wilson had been the cause of a failure on Robertson's part to escape. He took the first opportunity to make up for this. On the Sunday before the day of execution (April 14) both were present at a service in the Tolbooth church, each guarded by two soldiers. As the people crowded in both fell upon their guards. Wilson, a big powerful fellow, held two with his hands and a third with his teeth, while Robertson, throwing aside the fourth, jumped over the pew, mixed with the people, and got safely away. This daring escape increased the sympathy of the people, always on the side of smugglers. In fear of an attempt at rescue on the day of the execution, the

City Guard was strengthened by two compaines of soldiers. This precaution offended the dignity of John Porteous, Captain of the Guard, a rough and insolent personage. The execution took place in the Grassmarket, and the mob, as they not infrequently did, threw mud and stones at the hangman

THE PORTEOUS MOB BREAKING INTO THE TOLBOOTH.

and the soldiers. Porteous, 'inflamed with jealousy and wine,' ordered his men to fire on the threatening crowd, and seventeen persons were wounded, six of them mortally.

15. *Porteous is Hanged by the Mob.*—It was the case of Captain Bushell over again. Porteous had acted without legal authority. He was tried for murder and found guilty. But the evidence was

conflicting. Some witnesses swore that Porteous had tried to prevent the firing, and that the soldiers, annoyed by the mob, had acted without orders. On these grounds he received a reprieve. The original date for his execution was September 8. The night before an organized rising took place. A great mob, carefully directed, disarmed the guard and seized the Netherbow Port between the city and the Canongate where the soldiers were quartered. Next they forced their way into the Tolbooth, set free all the prisoners, and took possession of Porteous. He was conveyed by torchlight to the Grassmarket, and there clumsily hanged, or rather strangled, over a dyer's pole. Then the crowd quietly dispersed.

16. *Punishment of the City.*—The whole thing came as an astounding surprise to the Government. The action of the mob had struck the magistrates 'all of a heap.' An inquiry was immediately ordered. Nothing of any importance was discovered. The ringleaders were 'upon the wing,' whoever they were, and that was never known. It was determined, therefore, that punishment should fall upon the city. A Bill passed the House of Lords which purposed to dismiss the Provost of Edinburgh, and declare him incapable of filling any public office; to abolish the City Guard, and to remove the gates of the Netherbow. But when the Bill reached the Commons it was stoutly opposed by the Scottish members, including Lord Advocate Forbes. The Duke of Argyll had protested against it in the Lords. Many of the English members, out of ill-will to Walpole, joined in the opposition. As the Act finally passed it merely deposed the Provost and

inflicted a fine of £2,000 on Edinburgh for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. Even in this form it became law only by the casting vote of the chairman. A clause in the Act threatened with death all who should conceal the names of persons or the guilty ones. This was ordered to be proclaimed from the pulpit on the first Sunday of each month. Ministers resented this interference with their spiritual office. Though under a penalty of deprivation for the second offence, about half the clergy refused to read the clause. Others evaded the duty. A few escaped it by joining the ranks of the Secession.

17. *End of the Prosecutions for Witchcraft.*—Among the many 'public evils' deplored by the leaders of the Secession was the repeal of the Acts against witchcraft in 1736. Some of the more recent examples of the popular frenzy had been quite as horrifying as any. Christian Shaw, of Bargarran, when young, suffered from fits, which she attributed to witchcraft. Her information led to a long trial, and the execution of seven people. Fife was a favourite scene of such outbreaks. There was one in 1704-1705. At Pittenweem an old woman was frightened into the usual absurd confession of being a 'trafficker with Satan.' The local magistrates and the minister allowed her to be brutally maltreated by the mob, and finally crushed to death on the street under a weighted door. Humaner feeling and the increase in medical knowledge made an end of this form of persecution.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE 'FORTY-FIVE' (1745-1746): GEORGE II (1727-1746)

1. *Fall of Walpole.*—For twenty years Robert Walpole was the ruler of Great Britain, with Lord Islay and Duncan Forbes as his agents in Scotland. He was a peace Minister, for one reason because he knew that any foreign war would provide an opening for the Jacobites. Scotland, in the form of the exiled dynasty, was again, as of old, a danger to the peace of the kingdom. The English Jacobites were never of serious importance, as their Scottish allies had found and were to find again. But Walpole, by his distribution of places and pensions, and his preference for mere tools in his Government, had aroused a strong and unsparing opposition against himself. Of Scotsmen it included the Marquis of Tweeddale of the Squadron Whigs; the Duke of Queensberry, and the Earl of Stair a distinguished diplomatist and soldier—sons of the Revolution lords; the accomplished Lord Polwarth, son of the Earl of Marchmont, whom Walpole feared as much as he did young William Pitt; and in time the hot-tempered Duke of Argyll, who was on friendly terms with the Jacobite leaders. George II. was no more popular than his father had been. England was dragged at the heels of Hanover, and Scotland at the heels of England. The popular determination to fight Spain for the South American trade brought Walpole's downfall. In the election of 1741 the efforts of Lord Islay to secure a Scottish

majority for the great Minister were defeated by the activity of his brother the Duke. Walpole resigned office early in 1742. But the new and talented Ministry were soon at sixes and sevens, and no joy to anybody but the Jacobites. The office of Scottish Secretary had been revived and given to Tweeddale. The Secretary had the appointment of public officials in his hands, and Argyll had expected the office for himself. Still in Opposition as a disappointed man he died in 1743, and was succeeded by his brother.

2. '*The Association.*'—The fall of Walpole and the national dislike of the House of Hanover and all its works, revived the sinking hopes of the Jacobites. James himself could not play the heroic part that was needed, but his eldest son Charles Edward was growing up into a clever, athletic and attractive young man. Britain, in addition to the war with Spain, was being plunged into a welter of foreign complications in which the Jacobite party would become a valuable ally to an enterprising enemy. An 'Association' was in 1741 formed by some of the Scottish Jacobites to prepare for a rising on the offer of foreign aid. Its moving spirits were William Drummond, or Macgregor, of Balhaldy, a needy adventurer; Fraser of Lovat, with his eye on a dukedom; and Donald Cameron of Lochiel, the only man of unselfish and devoted mind among them. Balhaldy was the go-between who excited the Scots by promises of plentiful assistance from France, and fed the imagination of the French Minister with accounts of the 'marvels' which Scotland was ready to do. Similar delusions were

spread about the strength and eagerness of the English Jacobites. In the summer of 1743 a French army on its way to Austria was defeated by the British and Hanoverians under the Earl of Stair at Dettingen. George II and his young brother, the Duke of Cumberland, showed great personal courage in the battle, and the royal family enjoyed a short day of popularity. Thus Louis XV was at last roused to effort. A French fleet was in January, 1744, assembled at Brest to carry over an army of invasion from Dunkirk to England. Young Charles was brought from Rome to accompany it with a commission as Regent from his father. But once again the wind listed to blow for Hanover, and on the voyage to Dunkirk the ships were disabled by a storm. The invasion was off. The French knew by this time how vain was any reliance on the timid Jacobites of England.

3. *Prince Charles Lands in Scotland.*—The collapse of the French expedition was a sore blow to the 'young chevalier.' His principal Scottish agent was now John Murray of Broughton, afterwards his secretary and a Government informer—'evidence Murray.' To him Charles declared that he would cross to Scotland, 'if he brought only a single footman' with him. His Scottish friends, however, urged that nothing could be done without French aid. But Charles found encouragement among his Irish companions, such as his tutor Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Captain O'Sullivan. They had nothing in Scotland to lose. Louis gave him some money with which he bought field-pieces and muskets and hired two privateers. In one of these,

La Doutelle, he sailed on July 5, 1745, with seven companions, including Tullibardine, whose younger

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART ('BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE').

brother had displaced him as Duke of Atholl, Sheridan and O'Sullivan. On the 23rd they touched at Eriskay, a small island in the Outer Hebrides.

Two days later Charles arrived at Borrodale in Arisaig, whither he summoned some of the chiefs, to whom he made himself known. His reception was not encouraging. Clanranald's uncle in Uist had advised him to go home. Keppoch and Glencoe (Macdonalds) were of the same mind. The 'Seven Men of Mordart,' with some guns and ammunition, were not the army bargained for. Lochiel's action decided the waverers. He doubted the wisdom of the undertaking, but his honour bound him to do his best for the Prince who had thus thrown himself upon their loyalty. But nothing would move Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, or Macleod of Macleod. On them the watchful Duncan Forbes, now Lord President of the Court of Session, had used his influence. It was Macleod who informed Forbes that Charles had actually arrived. On August 19 the standard was unfurled at Glenfinnan on Loch Shiel in the presence of 1,200 Macdonalds and Camerons. Two days later they were joined by the Appin Stewarts. Charles's strength all through was in the western clans, who were Roman Catholics and anti-Whigs like the Macdonalds, or loyalists by tradition as the Camerons, or strong Episcopalians like the Appin Stewarts, whose name was royal; while such men as the followers of Coll Macdonald of Barisdale and the Macgregors were professional cattle-lifters and blackmailers ready for any ploy. These western clans, too, had all lost lands to the Argyll family, and were subject to the hereditary jurisdiction of its head the Duke. Against him as their superior and judge, and against the Government for which he stood, they nursed a

feeling of oppression and grievance. The northern and eastern clans were in a different case. Whig and Hanoverian were the Mackays and Munroes. Seaforth's son and successor had bought back most of the family estates, and was not prepared to risk them again. Some of his men he sent to serve the Government, the others he advised to stay at home. Simon Fraser doubled his part as usual. Openly he was, as yet, loyal; secretly he corresponded with Charles. Other clans were uncertain, or divided, or were forced out, or were, like the Skye Macleods, Government militia.

4. *General Cope Marches to Inverness.*—The royal commander in Scotland was a very ordinary person, General Cope. The Government had neglected his warnings and appeals. With 1,400 men, young regiments, he set out for Fort Augustus, hoping to check the insurrection ere it had well begun. But learning that Charles was holding the pass before him, he turned aside to Inverness. There, too, was Lord President Forbes embodying the Whig clans at the direction of the Government, which never even refunded him his expenses. Charles, finding the road open, marched for the capital. At Perth he was joined by the Jacobites of the east, Lords Strathallan and Ogilvie, and Oliphant laird of Gask. The gentlemen of the east were anti-Presbyterian. Oliphant's tenantry refused to follow him, and he was only prevented by the Prince from making their crops suffer. More important recruits were the good Duke of Perth (Drummond) and Lord George Murray. Lord George had been out in the 'Fifteen,' and had seen service abroad. He was

certainly the ablest man in the Prince's company, and was soon in chief command. But he had been a Sheriff-Depute. He had gone to confer with Cope on his way north, and had written to the Lord Advocate giving what information he could about the progress of the rising. His overbearing temper made him enemies, and these did not fail to encourage suspicion of his loyalty to the Prince. Murray and his brother Tullibardine raised the Atholl men, not without some farm-burning, and these Stewarts and Murrays were most reluctant recruits. Cluny Macpherson had been captured, and was released on consenting to bring in his clan. Charles easily surprised Edinburgh before proper resistance could be organized, and took up his quarters in Holyrood Palace. His father was proclaimed as James VIII, and he himself as Regent. At Edinburgh he was joined by Lord Elcho, and had now about 2,500 men. Charles was twenty-five, 'tall and handsome, of a fair complexion,' and wore 'a light-coloured periwig over his yellow hair,' 'a tartan short coat,' and a blue bonnet.

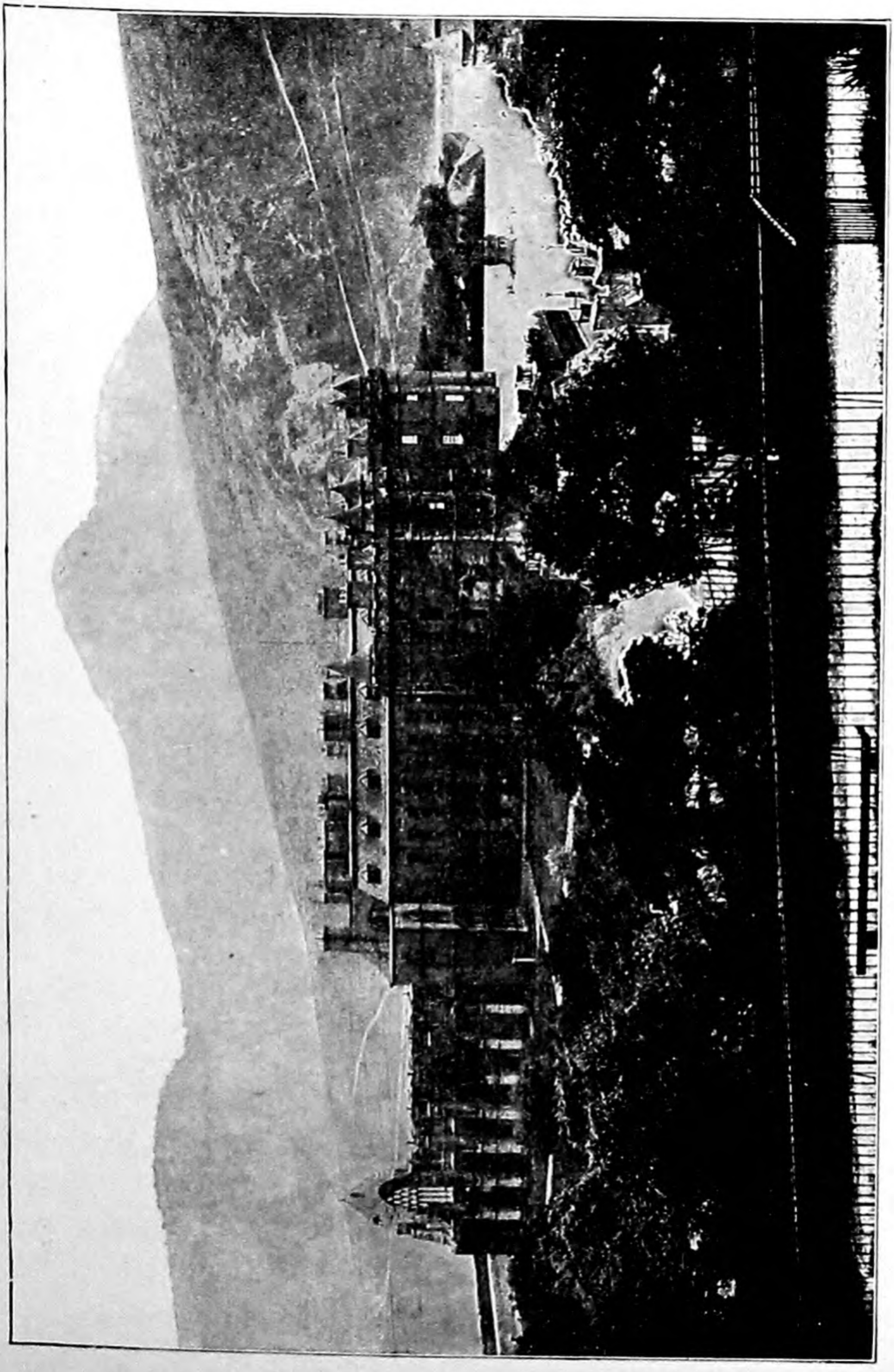
5. *Battle of Prestonpans* (*September* 21, 1745).—Meantime Cope had marched to Aberdeen and embarked his army, which he landed at Dunbar. He was joined by Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, who had never seen active service, and had retreated before the advance of the clans. In number his army was about equal to that of Charles. He took up a position in an unenclosed field lying inwards from Prestonpans. Between him and the Highlanders advancing on the south side was a morass draining into a wide ditch. But Lord George

Murray knew the ground, and that there was 'a small defile at the east end' of the ditch. By four o'clock in the morning his army was on the march from Fawside Hill, and was safely led across in the mist to Cope's left flank. When his pickets were driven in, that General hurriedly changed front to face the attack. As the Highlanders 'ran on' through the rustling stubble, the sun rose and the mist lifted. Cope had guns on his right, but no proper gunners. Under the dropping fire of the Camerons and Stewarts the guns were instantly abandoned. The dragoons who should have protected them fled. The foot delivered one volley, but did not wait to load again. At the sight of the claymores they made off. The rest of the dragoons followed, and 'in a very few minutes' all was over. Not a bayonet had drawn blood. Guns, baggage, and over 1,500 prisoners were in the hands of the victors. Charles and the chiefs behaved with great humanity, giving every attention to the wounded, those of the enemy as readily as their own.

6. *Charles in Edinburgh.*—The next six weeks were occupied with preparations on both sides. The Government brought across troops, British and foreign, from the Continent. Charles, too, filled up his ranks. Strong measures had to be used in bringing back deserters and beating up fresh recruits. The Border Jacobites came in—Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock and some Maxwells, including one 'called Lord Nithsdale.' But the Borderers generally were hostile or unwilling to risk. The local Jacobites, like those of England, were 'drinking friends,' not fighting ones. France

was again appealed to; some officers, guns, and gunners were sent over. But in Charles's Council there were two parties. The Scots were annoyed by his preference for his Catholic Irish friends, 'his favourites'—the eternal canker in the White Rose of Stewart. The Prince proposed to engage the aged General Wade at Newcastle. Lord George, however, and the majority advised a march into England by the west, and avoiding a battle till their English supporters had an opportunity to join. This plan had to be adopted, and in two main columns the army of 5,000 men set out for the west Border.

7. *The Prince in England.*—It was never Charles's hope to win the throne by such means as Scotland could afford. But a rebellion once fairly begun, he thought, 'the French must take off the mask, or have an eternal shame upon them.' Then there were the chances of a political reaction. Before entering England he issued a proclamation condemning the Union and the National Debt, the 'abuse of Parliaments,' the 'multitude of placemen,' the 'introduction of penal laws,' and other features of the Hanoverian Government, promising that the King on restoration 'will refuse nothing that a free Parliament can ask.' These lures had ceased to charm. Carlisle surrendered, but recruits did not hurry to the Prince's side. The army was kept under strict discipline, and there were no outrageous doings such as the English had been warned to look for. Lord George hastened to bring his troops across the Ribble to show that Preston was not to be the 'no farther' of this campaign. More enthusiastic Manchester furnished a regiment



HOLYROOD PALACE

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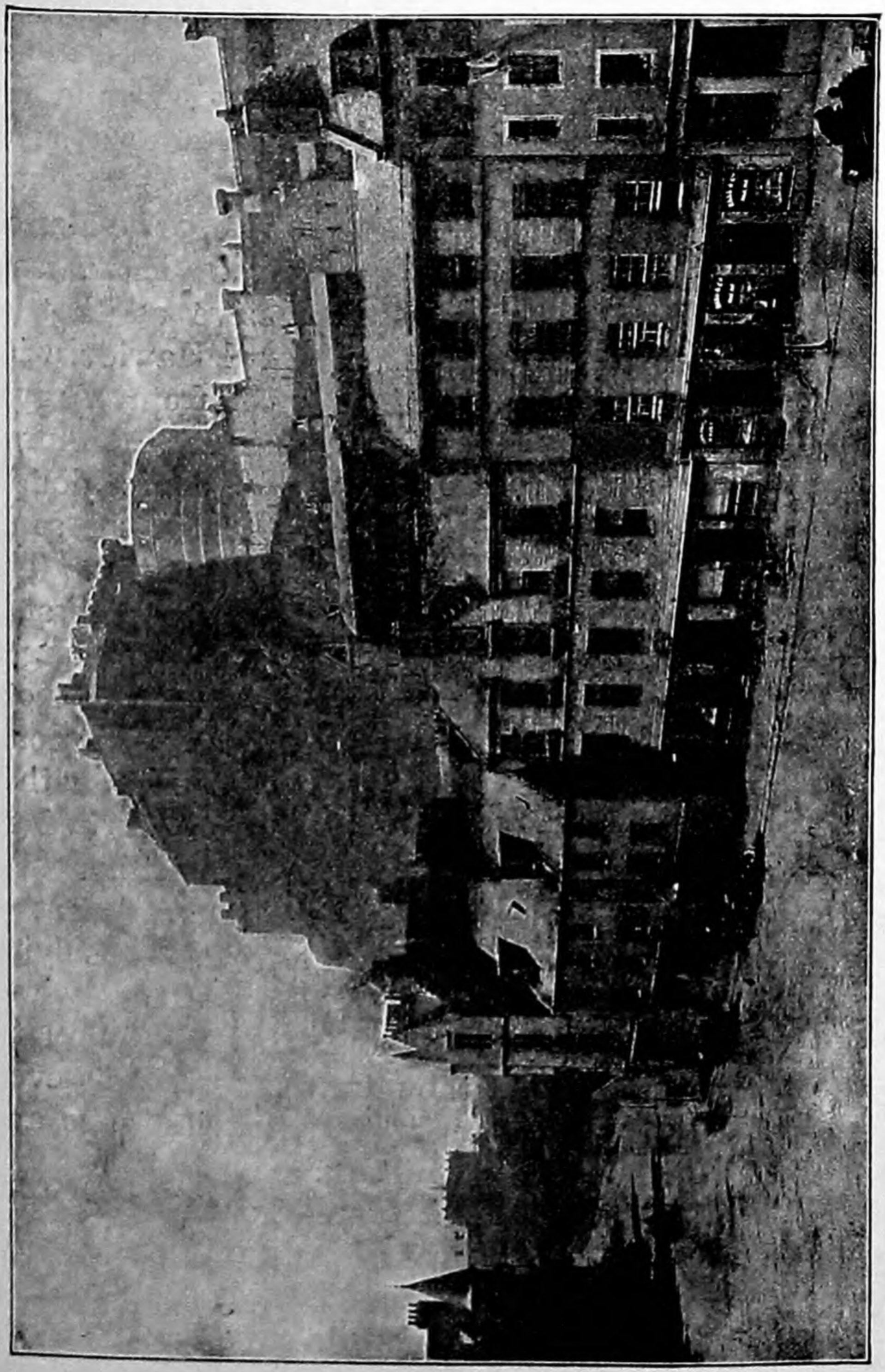
of a few hundreds. On December 5 the swiftly marching army halted at Derby. Charles was for going forward, if not to London, at least to Wales, where he might be reinforced by the Jacobites of that country and the south-west. But the council of officers determined on a retreat. Wade was hurrying south after them. The Duke of Cumberland was almost within touch. London, though panic-stricken, was arming its volunteers, and the local militia had been called out. Three armies of about 30,000 men, it was believed, would surround the little force. The Prince had to give way, and on the 6th the retreat began, as rapid and as skilfully conducted as the advance. In a skirmish at *Clifton Moor* Lord George, with the rearguard, drove off Cumberland's dragoons. At the Esk had gathered a body of Galloway volunteers to oppose the crossing—Elliots, Armstrongs, Johnstones, Maxwells, etc. As the Highlanders, a hundred abreast, fearlessly plunged into the swollen river they took to their heels. One man stayed to fire a single shot. The Borderers studied war no more. Hanoverian Dumfries had to pay a heavy fine, as also, in articles of apparel, had Glasgow, which the first part of the retreating army entered on Christmas Day, 1745.

8. *Battle of Falkirk* (*January* 17, 1746).—The Prince's successes had decided the laggards of the North. Lord Lewis Gordon raised a force of Gordons in spite of the opposition of his brother the Duke. Lovat sent out his eldest son, the Master, with unwilling Frasers. The Earl of Cromarty had summoned the Mackenzies of Easter Ross to serve under his son Lord Macleod. But other Mackenzies



THE GRASSMARKET, EDINBURGH. *Photochrom Co., Ltd.*

with Munroes, Skye Macleods, Mackays, and Grants were in the force under the royal commander, Lord Loudon (Campbell). It was civil war in the North Highlands. France, too, had sent a small body of troops and officers. To receive the new succours Charles moved to Stirling, where he himself took up his residence at Bannockburn. There was a siege of Stirling Castle as ineffective as that of Edinburgh Castle had been. General Hawley, with an army which included militia from Argyll, Glasgow, and Lothian, advanced from Edinburgh and occupied Falkirk. Charles, with a force double what it had been in England, and about the same number as Hawley's, engaged him there. The battle took place on the hill-slope under a tempest of rain. The Macdonalds on the Prince's right charged the dragoons opposite them, and drove them off. The regular foot, to the right of the dragoons, received the Macdonalds and their supports with a heavy fire, before which the clansmen retired in confusion. But, as at Sheriffmuir, neither side could follow the course of the fighting. 'Part of the King's army—much the greater part—was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward.' The battle had begun late, night was falling, and the storm as violent as ever. Hawley withdrew to Linlithgow, leaving guns and baggage on the moor of Falkirk.

9. *The Retreat from Falkirk.*—To this success a strange sequel. Charles had an unbeaten army, the largest he had yet commanded, whose reputation and method of fighting struck even veteran soldiers with panic; and he had just won a lucky victory.

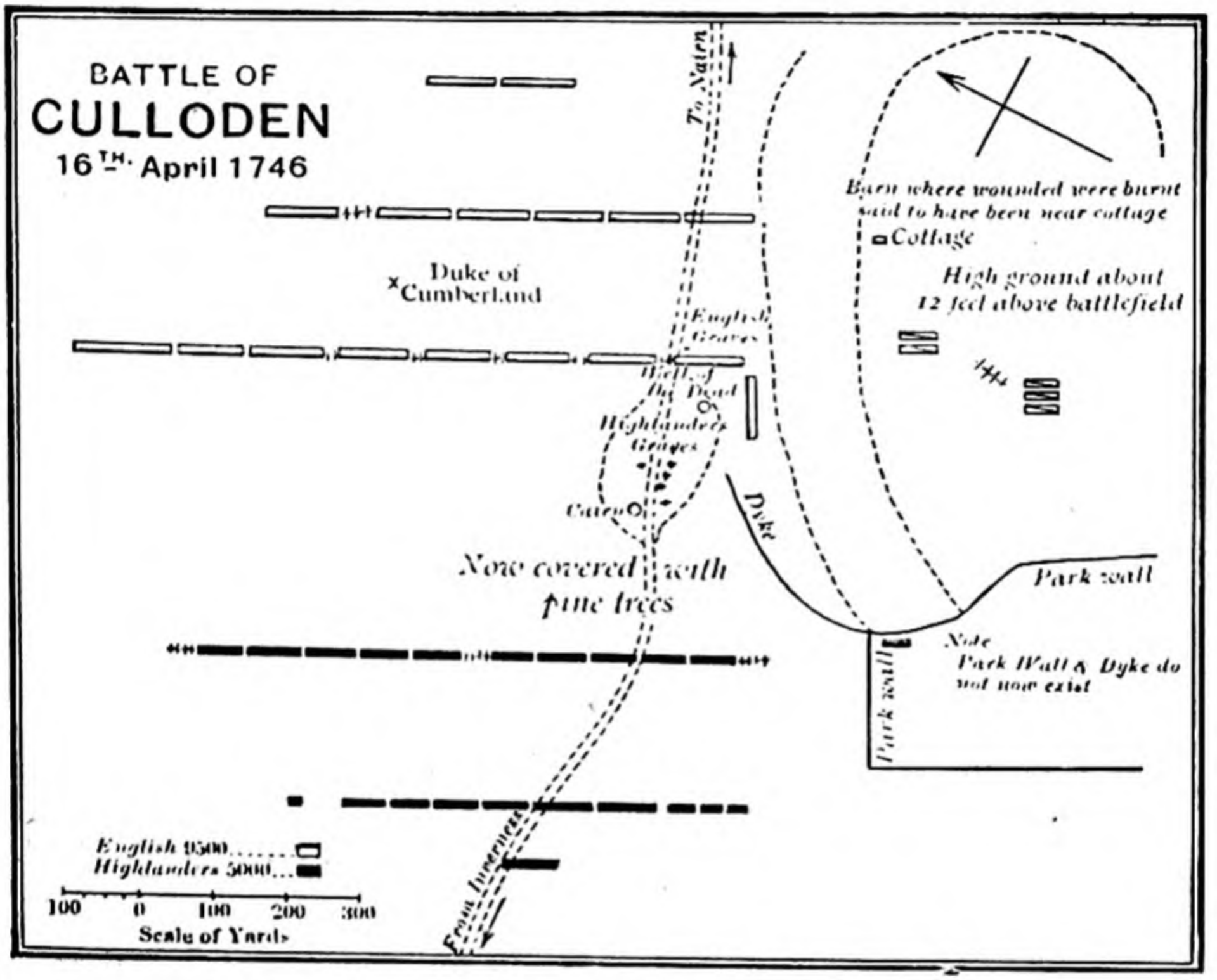
Yet the next step was another retreat. The Duke of Cumberland had arrived in Edinburgh. Some new regiments strengthened the shaken troops of Hawley. Charles was preparing to meet this force when a memorial reached him from Lord George and the chiefs. They affirmed that they were certain that 'a vast number of the soldiers are gone home,' that 'the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy' left them in 'the most imminent danger,' and that the remnant was to be saved only 'by retiring immediately to the Highlands.' This communication was signed by, among others, Lord George, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, and the Master of Lovat. Probably they resented Charles's reliance on his Irish and French officers. Not without a strong protest did Charles consent; he could 'see nothing but ruin and destruction' as the result. The retreat, begun in the early morning of February 1, quickly developed into a disorderly rush. At Crieff order was restored, and from Perth the army went north in three divisions. Charles made straight for Inverness, and Loudon retired into Sutherland. Lord George took the coast road, picking up some stores and ammunition from Spain by the way, and quartered his men in the towns north of Aberdeen. Meantime Cumberland had received 6,000 hireling Hessians, and dispatched them to Perthshire to cut Charles's communications with the Lowlands.

10. *The Campaign in the North.*—For six weeks the Highland army carried on a number of small but successful operations along a wide front. Fort Augustus was captured, though the Camerons had

to give up the attempt on Fort William. The outposts of Campbells in Rannoch and Badenoch were surprised and captured by Lord George, and the Hessians threatened. Some horse and Argyllshire militia were defeated at Keith. The Duke of Perth scattered Loudon's regiment in Sutherland, and Loudon, Macleod, and Duncan Forbes took refuge in Skye. Thus the army was widely spread. Many, too, 'as it was seed-time, had slipt home.' The stock of money had given out; a fresh supply from Spain was seized by Lord Reay; and as the men 'had no pay for a month past, it was not an easy matter to keep them together.' But when the news came on April 12 that Cumberland was advancing from Aberdeen, messages were sent to bring in the scattered details. The Duke by this time was actually across the Spey. Two days later he was at Nairn. Charles was concentrating at Culloden. But the Macphersons were not up. Cromarty's men had been attacked on their way by the Sutherland militia and dispersed. The Earl himself and Lord Macleod were captured at Dunrobin. Some Macdonalds and Macgregors were too far off in Ross, and, on the whole, the Prince's army wanted quite a third of its full muster.

11. *Battle of Culloden* (*April* 16, 1746).—Lord George did not like the position at Culloden: a plain field 'was certainly not proper for Highlanders.' However, Inverness with its store of supplies had to be protected. The food department was badly managed, and the men were reduced to a biscuit each. An attempt at a night surprise of Cumberland's army at Nairn, was a failure. At the

end of a six-mile march it was calculated that the sun would be up ere the attack could be begun. Hungry men were now also weary men. Scores straggled away to seek rest and food, overslept themselves, and awakened at the sound of the guns only to mingle in the flight. The Prince's army was

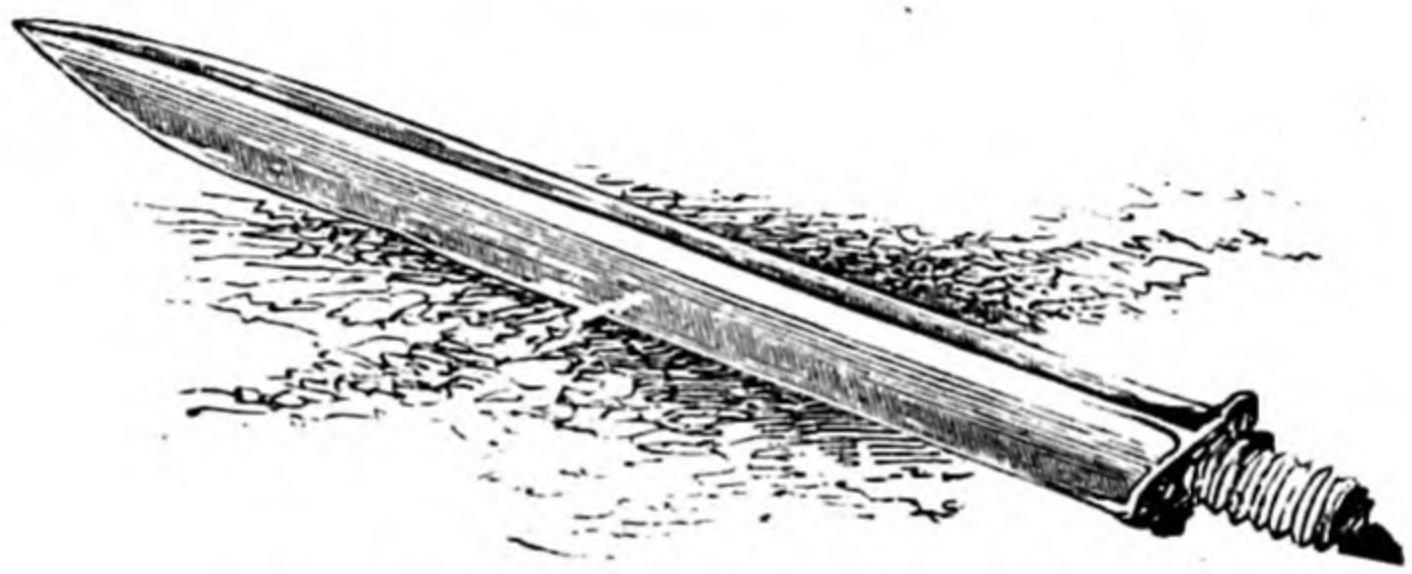


PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN (1746).

From 'The 45,' by A. B. Tulloch (Melven Brothers).

drawn up between Culloden House and some enclosed parks on the right. The clans were in the front line, the Macdonalds, to their anger, on the left instead of the right, where were the Atholl Stewarts and the Camerons. The Lowlanders and French formed the second line, and there was 'a

sort of reserve.' Cumberland had marched from Nairn at daybreak. His men were well supplied from the fleet, and had been carefully trained in tactics suitable to the Highland charge—to reserve their fire, parry the target, and meet the broadsword with the bayonet. At one o'clock the artillery opened fire. The Prince's guns were 'extremely ill-served and ill-pointed,' but those of the Duke cut lanes through the ranks of the Highlanders. Then, with the snow beating in their faces, the clansmen charged. The right, under Lord George and Lochiel,



SKENE DHU FROM CULLODEN.

In the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.

first reached the enemy. As they struck the Duke's left the guns showered grape upon them, while Wolfe's regiment moved up from the second line and 'poured' its fire along their front. Yet they pierced the line, to wither away before the steady fire of the regiments behind. In the centre the Macleans and Macintoshes were driven back from the bayonets. The Macdonalds tried in vain to draw the fire of Cumberland's right, but the men kept their firelocks to their shoulders, while the guns played on the clansmen. Three times they feigned to advance, but never got their chance for

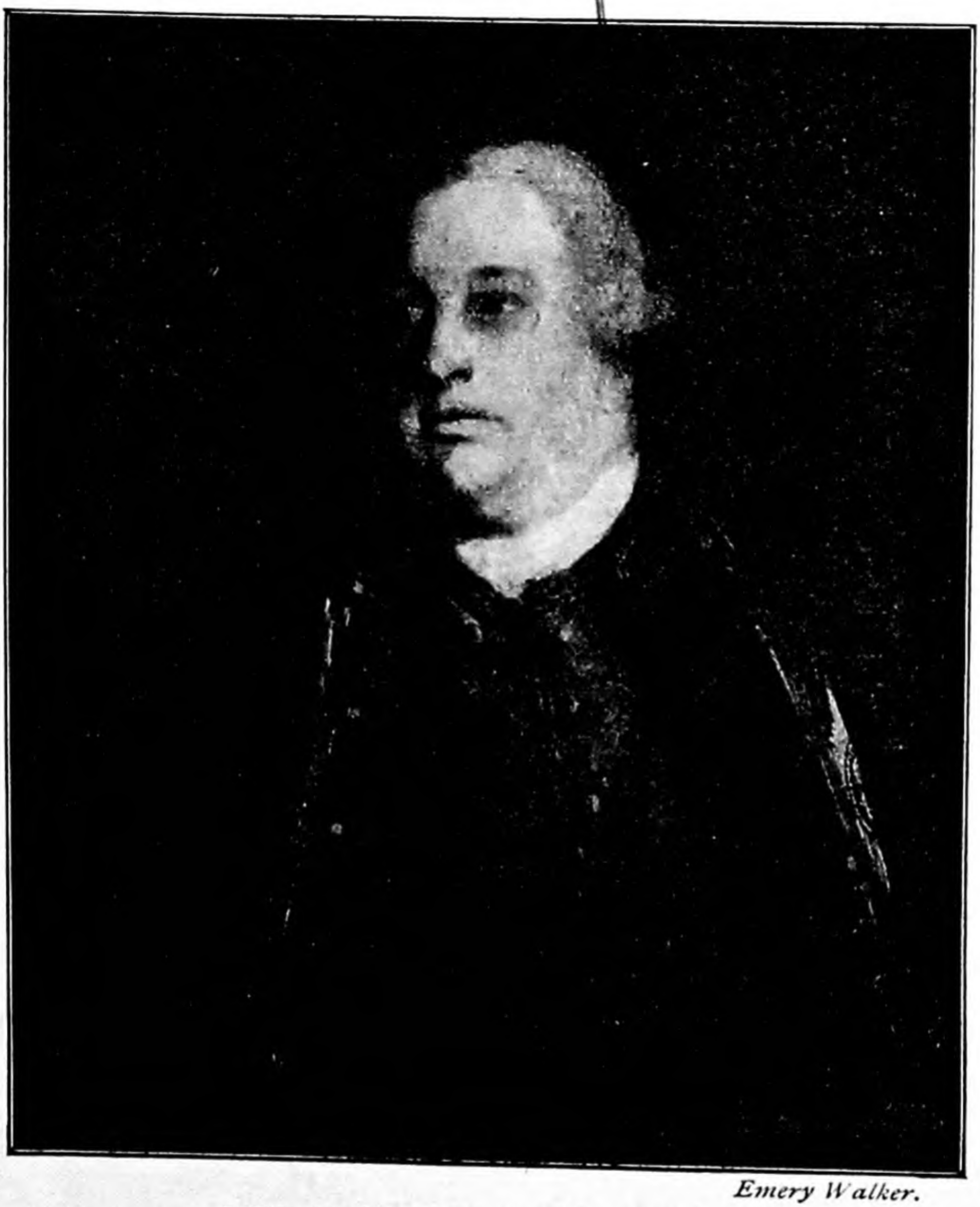
the broadsword. Keppoch fell mortally wounded. The Macdonalds broke. The whole line gave way, and within twenty minutes the Highland army was in disorderly flight. The victors were merciless. No quarter was the order, save for the French! Charles was led off the field by his guards.

12. *The Clans Rally—Flight of Charles.*—It was the Highland left that suffered most, as it retired upon Inverness before the cruel cavalry. The right, including the western clans, drew off to the hilly country across the river Nairn, and 'by chance' the fragments of the army rallied at Ruthven in Badenoch. There assembled Lord George, Perth, Tullibardine, and other leaders with 4,000 to 5,000 Highlanders 'cheerful and full of spirits.' The Macphersons added to their numbers, and all were ready for a fresh effort. To prolong the resistance might bring the Government to terms; such, also, was the advice Lovat gave to Charles. But a message to the Prince brought only a warning to save themselves as best they could. For him the heart was out of the affair. He was hurrying westwards to find means of getting to France. The Highlanders, realizing the price that would now have to be paid, broke up 'with wild howlings and lamentations.' On April 26 Charles left Borrodale in a boat for the Outer Isles.

13. *Punishing the Highlands.*—Heavy and brutal was the hand that now fell upon the unfortunate Highland people. 'Mild measures will not do,' was the maxim with which Cumberland earned for himself the name of 'the Butcher.' The honour of humanity during the year's campaign was certainly

carried off by the Highlanders. Such as surrendered saved their cattle and houses, but in too many cases it was 'the King's pleasure' to ship them to the plantations. 'Those who are found in arms,' wrote a Colonel, 'are ordered to be immediately put to death, and the houses of those who abscond are plundered and burnt, their cattle drove, their ploughs and other tackle destroyed.' The lands of the principal chiefs, such as Keppoch and Lochiel, were burned. Of the leaders, Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and the 'old fox' Lovat went to the scaffold. Cromarty and his son were pardoned. Perth died on his way to France. The 'gentle Lochiel,' severely wounded at Culloden, died in France two years later sorrowing for 'the people he had undone.' As in 1716, the trials of the inferior prisoners took place in the North of England towns, and about eighty suffered death. Scotland was treated as being under martial law, and the Highlands as a conquered province, till the interference of the civil courts brought lawless officers to their senses.

14. *Wanderings and End of Charles.*—On the west coast Charles hoped to find a French vessel, or one which he could hire to take him away. For five months he was hunted by regulars and Highland militia and ships of war in and out of the islands, up and down Lochaber and Badenoch, with a price of £30,000 on his head, till a ship touched at Borrodale, and he departed where he had landed. In France he met with a royal reception. But when peace was made with Britain Charles had to be sent 'on his travels.' There were later intrigues for a rising that never could come to anything. The old



Emery Walker.

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND (1721–1765).

From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Chevalier died in 1766. The spectacle of Charles's rapid degradation in drunkenness and vice, killed all feeling of devotion to the family. He died at Rome in the beginning of 1788. His one brother, Cardinal Henry, became a pensioner of George III. Of the other notable men of the cause, Lord George Murray died in Holland a few years after Culloden. The tenth and last Earl Marischal, who never liked Charles, became a friend and official of Frederick the Great, and through Frederick made his peace with the reigning house. His more famous brother left the Russian service to enter that of Frederick, and rose to be his most distinguished Field-Marshal. The vindictiveness of the Government and of the English people generally against those who had shared in the rebellion, and the sensitiveness of national feeling, kept Jacobitism alive as a sort of opposition among 'folks of the old leaven' for another generation, but it was never again a political danger.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FROM THE 'FORTY-FIVE' TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II (1746-1760)

1. *After the Rebellion.*—The fifteen years following the Rebellion have a character of their own. They produced the final series of Acts 'for rendering the Union more complete.' When the Rebellion was over, Scotland was still a country under political suspicion, especially the Highlands, where Cumberland thought the very soil would grow disloyalty.

He urged severe measures in the interests of his family, and many members of the Parliamentary Opposition were of his mind. Fortunately, there were wiser heads in the Government. A rearrangement of the Ministry in December, 1745, had brought about the dismissal of the feeble Tweeddale from the Secretaryship, and no successor was appointed. The Scottish law officers continued to be the chief advisers of the Government. No one had a better claim to be heard than Lord President Forbes, who disgusted Cumberland with his 'talk about humanity.' Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, was in full accord with Forbes in preferring a healing policy. But the Government of Scotland as a whole, so far as it fell to any one person, fell to the Duke of Argyll, who, as Earl of Islay, had been the agent of Walpole. Forbes died in 1747.

2. *Disarming the Highlands.*—The latest rising had again shown that the props of Scottish Jacobitism were mainly two—the clans and the Scottish Episcopal Church. Former Acts were, therefore, renewed and strengthened. A more successful effort was made to disarm the Highlanders. They were again summoned to deliver up all weapons. Persons found bearing arms or concealing them after the date of their summons were for the first offence to be fined, sent into the army, or imprisoned; and for the second to be transported to the plantations for seven years. A further clause in the same Act forbade, under the same penalties, the wearing of the 'Highland clothes'—plaid, kilt, trews, or tartan coat—by any but soldiers whose uniform it was. It was hoped that by such a

measure the clan sentiment would be slowly killed. To this provision the Government attached great importance. 'They must and shall obey it,' was the instruction to their officers. But to take his tartans from the Highlander was to leave him unclothed. The Act at first was not to come into force till August 1, 1747; the date, however, had to be put two years later. Forbes thought little of this operation. Disarming, he said, was 'the most important medicine.' The carrying out of the provisions of the Disarming Act was placed in the hands of the Commander of the Forces in Scotland. Many absurd attempts were made to evade them. Every Highlander who appeared on summons had to take a comprehensive oath that he possessed no weapon of any description or used tartan in any form. This oath was framed so as to appeal to his deepest feelings. 'If I do so,' he swore in conclusion, 'may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred.' The prohibition of the Highland dress was quietly repealed in 1782. Long before that date it had ceased to be strictly enforced.

3. *The Episcopal Clergy under Penal Laws.*—The Presbyterian clergy had again shown themselves whole-hearted supporters of the Government. The Seceders were no less active in the royal cause than their brethren of the Establishment. The ministers of Edinburgh left their churches in a body when Charles occupied the city, and refused his pressing invitation to return. Cumberland sent a letter to the General Assembly of 1746 in reply to their con-

gratulations, thanking the Established clergy for their 'very steady and laudable conduct.' On the other hand, the clergy of the Episcopal Church found the old penalties revived against them in a more exacting form. In the North, Cumberland burned or pulled down their meeting-houses; in Edinburgh these were closed. Non-jurors, or such as refused to take the oath of allegiance and pray for the King, were forbidden to hold service with more than five persons, or if in a dwelling, with more than five besides the family. The punishment for the first offence was six months' imprisonment, for the second banishment for life. Only three or four out of 130 clergy conformed. Moreover, hearers at an illegal meeting who did not inform the magistrate, were also made liable to heavy penalties. Two years later the Act was made even more drastic. No clergyman consecrated by a Scottish Bishop was recognized as such by law. The Episcopalians were now 'the suffering remnant' of Scotland, ministering to scattered flocks in secret or uncomfortable places. Their Church dwindled, and in the Highlands, where it had been strong, it was almost crushed out of existence. As the dread of Jacobitism disappeared the penal laws were relaxed, and in 1792, four years after the death of Charles, were repealed. Non-juring had ceased. The Scots Episcopal Church, which in the seventeenth century was little distinguishable from the Presbyterian, now drew closer to that of England.

4. *Abolition of Hereditary Jurisdictions* (1747).—The most important measure for the country at large was that which abolished the ancient heredi-

tary powers of administering justice, vested in the great landholders. This was a survival from the time when the Scottish Crown was too weak to have such work carried out by royal officers. The only check upon the hereditary Sheriffs and others in the exercise of these powers was the Scottish Privy Council, and that body had been dissolved. In rougher times the system had served well enough, but was open to abuse. To the great nobles it was an additional source of power. Its abolition was bound to come, and the Rebellion was only the occasion of it, not the cause. It did not much affect the Highland chiefs, few of whom had grants of such jurisdictions, and whose power over their people was due to other reasons. At the same time it was desirable to strengthen the Government. When, as in the risings, and as had happened in Covenanting days, personal interests and feelings came into play, the hereditary Sheriffs could not be trusted to do their duty. Still, the abolition of the jurisdictions met with strong opposition on the English side. No Scottish peer voted against it. But the Act was denounced by the Tory Opposition as a breach of the Union and a confiscation of property. The fines were the revenue of the justices, and there were, besides, certain small 'customs' or payments due to them from their tenantry on account of the office. For these compensation was given. The claims made were very great, but in the end all were settled at an outlay of about £150,000. Of this, £20,000 fell to the Duke of Argyll. The Marquis of Annandale was compensated with £5,000 for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Others got much smaller amounts. The chief of the Grants was the only one of the lesser heads of clans whose claim was admitted. The vacant positions were filled by professional lawyers, who at first had to be good Whigs. Most lawyers were Jacobites. In the same year another Act abolished the tenure of land on condition of military service. Such tenures had been abolished in England a hundred years before. Fixed payments took their place.

5. *The Highlands after Culloden.*—The late rising, like all previous ones, left the Highlands in a very unsettled condition. Outlawed men took to the hills and became thieves. Bands of such gentry had long been common in the Highlands. Cattle was their chief plunder, because cattle could be driven, and fetched a good price in Lowland markets. These bandits had been drawn mostly from some branches of the Macdonalds, from the Camerons, the Glenmoriston Grants, and, of course, the outlawed Macgregors. Chiefs such as Lochiel and Keppoch, though bound to protect clansmen in difficulties, discouraged these practices. But farmers in the Lowlands—even Forbes himself—had been glad to pay 'blackmail' to save their stock. The Highland 'commons,' however, as a whole, were a hard-working people, wringing their daily bread from poor and unimproved soil. Had Cumberland and the Opposition now had their way, there would have been more thieves 'forced by necessity.' But Pelham and his Scotch advisers were for remedy, not repression. The estates of Lovat, Perth, Lochiel, Stewart of Ardshiel, and other leaders,

were forfeited. Those in the South were sold by auction. But the Highland estates were retained as the property of the Crown. In 1752 an Act was passed devoting the rents to the improvement of the Highlands and islands, to 'promoting amongst them the Protestant religion, good government, industry, and manufactures.' The policy of this measure was put by one member of Parliament thus: 'Feed the clans, and they will obey; starve them, and they must rebel.' The encouragement of Cumberland supported the Opposition in declaring that such easy treatment took all terror from rebellion.

6. *The Appin Murder* (1752).—But it was scarcely possible for the people to realize the good intentions of the Government. There was a brief account of Parliamentary debates in the Edinburgh newspapers, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Whig) and the *Caledonian Mercury* (Tory); but newspapers were not known in the West Highlands. There factors appeared to collect the rents. These were not large, but they had to be regularly paid. This the tenants were not always able to do, especially as many were at the same time sending supplies to their chiefs in exile. Moreover, the factors were strangers and Whigs, and had to be protected by a military guard. Leases were readily given on easy terms, but leases seemed to the tenants to be a way of robbing them of all personal right in the land. Troubles arose, and families had to be evicted for non-payment of rent. In 1746 an officer was shot in Lochaber in mistake for another who had acted at an eviction. The assassin was known, but never

arrested. In 1752 a more famous outrage occurred. The factor on Ardshiel's and Lochiel's estates was a Mr. Campbell of Glenure. His severity had already brought him a reprimand from his superiors. On his way to evict some tenants he was shot at from behind a bush on the road near Ballachulish, and killed. Suspicion fell upon Allan Stewart Breac ('speckled,' from small-pox) and James Stewart, kinsmen of Ardshiel. Allan escaped to France, and James was arrested as being 'art and part' in the murder, and for having assisted him in getting away.

7. *Campbells Judge a Stewart.*—This case had an important political bearing. The Opposition had prophesied the failure of the Government's policy. If this murder were imitated, failure was certain, for severity would have to be used. It was, therefore, determined to make an example of James Stewart. He was tried at Inveraray. Three judges sat on the bench, presided over by the Duke of Argyll as Justice-General, whose presence at a circuit court was most unusual. Lord Advocate Grant prosecuted—another unusual thing—and two of his assistants were Campbells. From the same clan were drawn eleven of the jury. With such judges, an Appin Stewart in the dock under a charge arising out of the murder of a Campbell, was as good as dead. On the very slightest evidence Stewart was convicted and hanged. These unfortunate affairs apart, this period was a fairly good one for the Highland tenantry. Rents were low, and the price of cattle was rising steadily. Improvements were made on the forfeited estates. Spinning-wheels were distributed among the people, and good flax sown.

Schools were erected, and a knowledge of English spread. Feeling was dying down, and 'female rebels,' such as Keppoch's daughter, danced with the officers of the garrison in the fortnightly assemblies at Inverness. More men were raised in the Highlands for military service—an old project of Forbes and Argyll. In 1757 Lovat's son, though without an acre of the family lands, easily embodied a regiment, more than half of whom were Frasers, the rest being from other Inverness-shire clans. Thus old feuds were helped to rest. 'Fraser's Highlanders' distinguished themselves at the capture of Quebec in 1759. When disbanded, many settled down in America, while those who returned had news to tell of the great vacant country beyond the sea.

8. *'Moderates' and 'Populars.'*—During the latter half of the century a marked change of character came over the Church of Scotland. It was not without reason that the ministers who clung to the old 'zealous' traditions deplored the preoccupation of the people with trade. Religious enthusiasm weakened. Quiet ways were preferred. There was not the old passionate interest in ecclesiastical politics. The change had set in after the Revolution settlement, and the growing party in whom these effects showed themselves was known as that of 'Moderates.' It was recruited from the younger ministers. Until the middle of the century, however, the men who stood in the old ways of strict doctrine and freedom of the Church from outside control in what they believed to be spiritual matters, were in the ascendant. They received the name of

'Evangelicals,' or, on account of one special form of resistance, of 'Populars.'

9. *Disputed Settlements.*—It was from this party that the Secession had been formed. Those who remained within the Church continued that conflict on the same lines. The appointment of ministers by presentation was now in full activity. In not a few cases it produced a serious division in the congregation. Heads of families claimed the right with the elders and heritors to refuse to accept a minister who did not meet with their approval. In many cases the Presbytery gave way to the congregation, and declined to admit the minister even when ordered to do so by the superior courts of the Church. The Evangelicals supported the 'Popular' side. The General Assembly still passed annual resolutions against the 'grievance' of patronage. On the other hand, the Moderates insisted that the law of the land and of the Church must be obeyed. It was a principle of Presbyterianism that the lower courts must give way to the higher.

10. '*The Relief.*'—The turning-point in the controversy was in the year 1752. Hitherto the Assembly had dealt easily with rebellious Presbyteries who refused to act against their conscientious beliefs. 'Riding Commissions' were sent to do their work. But this practice was now brought to a close. The Moderates insisted that Presbyteries which did not carry out the orders of the superior courts, must be compelled or punished. A test case arose in Inverkeithing (1751-1752). The majority of the Presbytery refused to take any steps to install a presentee who

had only a small body of supporters among the elders and the congregation. On this account the Assembly deposed one minister, George Gillespie of Carnoch, as a warning, and suspended others. Gillespie, however, would not give up preaching, and ten years later (1761), being joined by two other ministers, formed the Relief Presbytery, the 'relief' being from patronage. This case marks the beginning of the rule of the Moderate party in the Church. Their leader was Dr. William Robertson, afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University, and a distinguished historian in his day. Several cases like that of Inverkeithing occurred, in some of which the congregation broke up and furnished recruits to the Secession or the Relief. But the Secession itself had split, some years after its formation, over the burghers' oath. All burghers had to swear that they professed 'the true religion' as 'authorized by the laws' of the realm. As this was accepted to mean the Established Church, many regarded the oath as opposed to their Secession principles. A heated quarrel resulted in a division into two bodies: 'burghers' who did not scruple at the oath, and 'anti-burghers' who did (1747). Further developments occurred before the close of the century. The Moderates drifted into being actual defenders of patronage in itself as against the popular claims. In 1781 the resolutions of the Assembly against the practice ceased. The Moderates, now the majority in that body, soon found themselves in alliance with the Tories in politics.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION AND THE LITERARY REVIVAL: GEORGE III (1760)

1. *The Great Change.*—George III was the first really British member of the House of Hanover. The year in which he came to the throne coincides with the definite beginning of a new era in Scottish history. It was first, of course, most marked on the economic side. Later it led to a political change. An inflow of wealth made it possible for the new ideas to be properly applied to the condition of the country. Compensation for their heritable jurisdictions placed ready cash in the hands of great proprietors, who used it in the development of their estates. Scots 'nabobs' returned with fortunes made in the Indies, one of the fields opened to their enterprise by the Union. Others made money in various ways connected with the successful Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which laid firm the foundations of a colonial empire. The favourite investment for these funds was in the profitable business of farming. Banks were opened in the country towns. There was a great and growing demand for cattle and grain. The new methods of agriculture borrowed from England and Ireland took fast root. Lords of Session devoted their leisure hours to experiments on their estates in planting and improving. Fencing, draining, planting of trees, 'green crops,' finer grain, fertilizing of soil, and methods of science not of tradition, rapidly transformed Scottish agriculture. Barren lands were

reclaimed and made productive. Bad seasons still came, but their effect was less felt: 1756 was a ruinous season, but potatoes eked out the grain. Within a few years these were grown in 'amazing quantities,' especially in Perthshire. The distress of 1782-1783 taught a severe lesson to backward farmers, and brought the north-eastern counties into line with the Lowlands. Prices of farm produce rose, and, with prices, rents and the whole value of land. Labour was in demand, wages were doubled, housing became more comfortable and cleanly, and the general appearance of the people altered greatly for the better. By the end of the century Scotch farmers could despise the less progressive methods of England, and Scotch agriculture became the model for the other kingdoms.

2. *Effect on the Highlands.*—Nowhere did the new movement produce more startling results than in the Highlands. There the rich natural pastures suddenly became of great value. The price of cattle had doubled within thirty years, reaching its greatest height at the end of the war in 1763. Sheep, too, were becoming as valuable as cattle. The chiefs still possessing their lands had no longer any interest in maintaining a warlike population. More rent was what was now desired. Of the new proprietors, many had been educated in the Lowlands and England. They had the new tastes, and cared little for the old attachment of clan and chief. These men did more to kill the clan feeling than all the enactments of the Government. Rents were squeezed up to the fullest amount. The proprietors and the great tenants profited, but the smaller men and the cottagers

were unable to bear the new burdens. Emigration to America began—to lands where Highland soldiers had already settled. By 1770 it was in full swing,

GEORGE III (1738-1820).

From the painting by Allan Ramsay in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

a perfect 'rage.' Inverness people generally went to Georgia; those from Perthshire and Strathspey to New England; from Argyll and the Islands to

Carolina: a choice determined by the presence of friends and relatives in these districts. The flow was checked by the outbreak of the war with America in 1775, and for the time turned towards Canada. It soon caused alarm throughout the country, which needed its male population for service in the various wars. Yet recruits were still abundant. The Government, led by Pitt, now made full use of the fighting qualities of the Highlanders. Between the time of the 'Forty-Five' and the end of the war against Napoleon (1815) fifty-one battalions were raised from the Highland clans for service abroad, besides many others for home defence. So closed the clan history of the Highlands, in much the same way as it had done on the Borders two hundred years before. But it was a process which involved much personal suffering to a poor people ignorant of the conditions which prevailed beyond their mountain borders. Some, to cross the seas, had actually to sell themselves to employers, and many died of the miseries of the passage.

3. *The Manufacturing Towns.*—This was a period of rapid growth in the towns. The working population employed in factories and in trades increased. While the displaced Highlanders went abroad, Lowlanders, removed to make room for bigger farms, became craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns. The royal and other privileged buyers no longer took first place. A fishing village like Greenock or a township like Paisley by commerce or manufacture forced its way to the front. Edinburgh, of course, as the centre of government and law, retained its importance. The increase in rents enabled country

gentry to become town dwellers, and share in the excitements and gaieties of the larger centres of population. Edinburgh drew most of this kind, and so possessed a leisured, cultured, and titled class, with whom Edinburgh became the most fashionable and brilliant centre out of London. But the high flats of the Canongate and Lawnmarket could not contain them. They left these noisome quarters for the villas and straight, open streets of the 'New Town' across the valley to the north. The last twenty-five years of the century saw old Edinburgh abandoned to its poorer element. Where a Lord President of the Court of Session had lived and revelled became the home of a saleswoman of old furniture. In Glasgow successful commerce supplied the chief citizens, the 'tobacco lords,' who laid the foundations of the city's greatness. Through Glasgow passed more than half of all the tobacco used in the three kingdoms. But the American War, which Glasgow, naturally, did not support, destroyed this profitable business. The supply ceased, and when peace returned, Virginia and Maryland sent their tobacco direct to the countries which used it. But Glasgow had other resources, and its merchants were enterprising. The climate of the West was well suited to the manufacture of cotton. The first cotton mill in Scotland was set up in Penicuik in 1778, and the second in Rothesay the year after. Glasgow, however, was in the best position to develop this industry. Soon more raw cotton was coming into the Clyde than went to Lancashire, which had in time to draw most of its material from the Scottish port. Crowds of High-

land and Lowland labourers flocked to the cotton factories of Lanark and Paisley. The old linen industry passed to the East Coast. In Aberdeen the flourishing hosiery trade suffered heavily from the war following the French Revolution. The linen manufacture, however, was extended, and before the end of the century Aberdeen was making more linen thread than any town in Scotland. Along Tweedside woollen mills were rising to rival those of England.

4. *Improved Communications.*—Now, too, was seen the real beginning of an improvement in the highways. The only made roads were those of Wade in the Highlands. Beyond their reach, in Caithness and Sutherland, there was none even at the end of the century. A traveller from Glasgow to Edinburgh in 1739 would find neither coach, waggon, nor cart on the rough track, over which he had to trudge or ride. Ten years later 'The Glasgow and Edinburgh Caravan' began a public service, taking two days to do the forty-four miles. But the roads could no longer be left among the works of Nature. The Turnpike Act (1751) imposed a toll on travellers for their improvement and upkeep, which speedily produced good results in the more frequented parts of the country. The 'Caravan' between the two chief cities had to yield to 'The Fly,' which justified its name by covering the distance in a day and a half! Carriers' waggons, too, appeared as the roads became passable for vehicles. But the carrier from Selkirk to Edinburgh took a fortnight to the journey, and in summer-time found the dry part of the bed of the

Gala Water easier travelling than the high road. For passengers crossing the Border a stage-coach left Edinburgh for London once a month. The journey occupied from ten to fifteen days, according to the weather. Within a quarter of a century (1784) there were fifteen coaches for London weekly, and the trip might be done with comfort in four days. English roads had been no whit better than those of Scotland. But the first mail-coach did not reach Aberdeen till 1798, and it was not till early in the next century that the connexion was extended to Inverness. Farm roads were included in the general improvement, but for long only in the central Lowlands. There it now became possible to use carts in place of sledges, or 'tumblers' not much bigger than wheelbarrows, with solid wooden wheels. In remoter districts, even in Ayrshire, pack-horses or women carrying creels continued for some time yet to be the common modes of bringing farm produce to the markets. Scotland was ready also to follow the southern example of constructing canals for the easy conveyance of bulky goods. Between 1768 and 1790, with many delays, a canal was cut between the Forth and Clyde. The traffic on this canal threatened to spoil that on the Clyde, which, by careful banking in of the channel, was now being made to provide water of sufficient depth at high tide to allow of vessels of a good size sailing up to the city.

5. *Scottish Minerals—The Steam-Engine.*—As yet little use had been made of the rich stores of coal and iron in the country. Coal was still but little worked and difficult to transport. But a fuller

demand set in when it was found how to use coal in the smelting of iron. In 1760 the famous Carron ironworks were set up near Falkirk. They gave the name to a class of short guns which they produced, known as 'carronades.' Under the pressure of expanding industries inventors, too, were busy. Meikle's threshing-machine has already been noticed. The invention of labour-saving machines in spinning and weaving transformed these industries in England and Scotland. But it was James Watt, a native of Greenock, who supplied the new driving power in the perfecting of the steam-engine. In 1765 he hit upon the idea of the 'separate condenser,' and by this and other improvements made what had been little better than a cumbrous toy the greatest agent in the 'industrial revolution.' And through this revolution the United Kingdom became the greatest industrial and engineering country in the world.

6. *The Revival of Literature.*—At the beginning of the century scholarship in Scotland had sunk to its lowest level, and literature had almost ceased to be. The schools were wretched, the Universities were sunk in poverty. Not till towards the end of the century were efforts made to improve these conditions. With the new life opening out in Scotland came the revival of Scottish letters, in the hands of philosophers like David Hume and Thomas Reid the founder of the 'Scottish philosophy'; of historians such as Hume, Principal Robertson, and Lord Hailes; and of the fathers of political economy, Hume again, but especially Adam Smith. Smith's *Wealth of Nations* converted leading politicians to Free Trade,

ALLAN RAMSAY (1686-1758).

From the drawing by Aikman in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

and is the most important book on its subject ever written. These men wrote in English. The literary Scots tongue was quite dead. Scottish terms and phrases became an offence when only by using correct English could readers be secured. The spoken Scots, the 'vernacular' of the peasantry and the poor, found its place in verse. Allan Ramsay, the Edinburgh wig-maker and poet, gave it new life in his popular poems, and, besides, dressed up old surviving songs and ballads. He was followed by the unfortunate Robert Fergusson, whose Scots is of a more cultured character than that of Ramsay. These men furnished the example for the greatest of all Scottish poets, the Ayrshire peasant Robert Burns (1759-1796), who raised the later vernacular to a sure place in literature. But even he wrote much in the somewhat affected English of the Scottish writers of his time.

CHAPTER XXXIX

POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III (1760-1820)

1 *The Political Situation in Scotland.*—The interests of Scotland during the latter part of the eighteenth century were industrial and social. Religious feeling was keen only among the Dissenters and the Evangelical minority of the Church. It was the calm reign of the Moderates. Party politics in the English sense did not exist. A busy people were indifferent to politics. They had no voice in the

election of either town councils or Members of Parliament, and so no control over either. The representation of the country was in the hands of a few men. A vote at an election was something to be bought, in Parliament something deserving reward. Both municipal and parliamentary activities were utterly corrupt. The Government of the country was directed by the Lord Advocate for the time being. Thus Scotland steadily supported the Government, whatever its colour. When George took the step of replacing the elder Pitt by the Earl of Bute, a Scotchman, Scotland was involved in the unpopularity of the new Minister. Bute certainly showed himself partial to his own countrymen. As a result, Scotsmen and the Scottish nation were mocked at and insulted in the interests of the Opposition. This burst of foolish prejudice renewed the old bitterness of feeling against the southern kingdom, and this bitterness marked Scottish politics for the next twenty years. Of the Scottish towns, only Glasgow and Kilmarnock failed in 1775 to send addresses to the King in favour of the American War, which he largely helped to bring about.

2. *The Rule of Dundas.*—In the same year Henry Dundas became Lord Advocate. He was an able, not very scrupulous, but genial statesman, whose hold upon the country steadily became greater until he was its uncrowned King. He retained office under Tory and Whig and mixed Ministries alike, but finally attached himself to the fortunes of the younger William Pitt, and became his close friend. During his earlier term of office an Act was passed

(1775) abolishing serfdom among the colliers and salters (see Chapter XXXIII, § 2). This measure had to be strengthened in 1799 before it became effective. The one political proposal that aroused strong feeling in Scotland was that to repeal the penal laws against Catholics. They could not hold property, educate their children, exercise their worship, or even exist at all in the country, if the laws were enforced. In practice they were left alone, but the measure to remove the laws from the Statute-book, as had just been done in England, was fiercely resisted. There were anti-Catholic riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow (1779), and much mischief was done to Catholic property. The Moderate party passed a resolution in the Assembly in favour of repeal. For this they suffered in popular favour. The measure had to be withdrawn, and the Assembly thereupon passed a resolution of congratulation. Charles James Fox and the English Whigs denounced this surrender by the Government to a 'little insurrection in a small corner of the Empire.'

3. *Pitt and Dundas.*—Dundas had supported Lord North and the American War, but he was also a member of the Ministry which recognized the independence of the colonies. He was too useful a man to be dispensed with. For a few months he was out of office till William Pitt the younger, after being three years in Parliament, became Prime Minister in 1784. It was Dundas who first urged the King to appoint Pitt. Thenceforward the two were bosom friends. Dundas became the first Secretary of State for India. As time went on, he filled other offices, becoming in turn Home Secretary, First

HENRY DUNDAS, FIRST LORD MELVILLE (1742–1811).

From 'Kay's Portraits.'

Secretary of War, and First Lord of the Admiralty. He was Pitt's right-hand man during his long term of twenty-two years as Prime Minister. In Scotland he did as he pleased. He had the patronage of all public offices. 'It was to him that every man owed what he had got, and looked for what he wished.' He managed the elections. Scotland became entirely Tory. He had added to his popularity by the Act of 1784, which restored the forfeited estates to the descendants of families exiled for the rebellion of 1745. There was no opposition to this measure. The Highlands were peaceful; Jacobitism was a lost cause dear only to minor poets.

4. *Burgh Reform.*—Meantime a great question was forcing itself to the front in Scotland—that of reform in the government of the burghs. The towns were being filled up with a large working population, and were being roused to a new life. They found themselves at the mercy of a close tyranny. Since the days of James III the magistrates had been self-elected. The burgesses, as a body, had no voice. The magistrates raised what taxes they pleased, and spent them as they pleased. They were responsible to nobody, and the legal means of checking their extravagance it was impossible to put in force. They disposed of the property of the burgh. In many cases they burdened it with heavy debt. Aberdeen lay under a debt of which it could scarcely pay the interest. A hundred years before the burghs had been declared to be hopelessly corrupt. Now a new spirit was abroad. Delegates assembled from fifty-four burghs, and prepared a scheme

for submission to Parliament (1787). They first approached Dundas and Pitt. Dundas declared himself an opponent; Pitt avoided them. Then they turned to the Whig leaders. Fox and Sheridan took up their cause, and year after year pressed it upon the House of Commons. But the progress of the French Revolution alarmed the governing classes, and for the moment reform of any sort was beyond hope. The opposition of the Tory party to burgh reform proved the beginning of its downfall in Scotland.

5. *The State of Parliamentary Representation.*—The agitation for reform of the burghs opened up an even larger question. The power of Dundas in Scotland was due in part to his practical ability and his personal popularity, still more to the opportunities he had of giving places to his friends, most of all to the ease with which he could manage its elections. Out of a population which now numbered a million and a half, less than four thousand had votes. More than half of these were in the counties. Only heritors or freeholders possessed the franchise, and it was possible for great landowners to make a mock division of their estates in order to create votes for the purpose of an election. In the election of 1790 Ayrshire was the largest constituency, with 220 votes; Cromarty the smallest, with six. Of the burghs, Edinburgh was the only one which possessed a member of its own for its thirty-three voters. The other royal burghs, who alone had the right to be represented, returned members for groups of four or five, though both Glasgow and Selkirk had as many voters as Edinburgh. The

average number was nineteen, the usual number of the town council. Each town council of a group appointed a delegate, and these elected the member. It was easy to handle such small numbers. Dundas also sent down the list of peers who were to be chosen at an election. Thus he was able in the election of 1802 to secure the return of forty-three Tory members to the House of Commons out of the total of forty-five. No wonder Dundas, who, like his friend Pitt, had begun as a reformer, became the stubborn enemy of all change in so convenient a system. At the same time, a blind terror at the sight of the upheaval and excesses of the French Revolution filled the minds of those in power. Early in 1793 France and Britain were at war.

6. '*The Political Martyrs*' (1793-1794).—The popular movement for reform in England and Scotland was directed by the *Association of the Friends of the People*. The first Scottish branch was formed at Glasgow. The purpose of the Association was to work by constitutional methods for a fuller share in the Parliamentary representation. The Government took alarm. Daring Whigs had not scrupled to express their sympathy with the French people and their new Constitution. The demand of the new wealthy class and of the working population in the towns for a share in political power seemed to be the beginning of a revolution at home. It was determined to crush the movement. One of its leaders was a young advocate, Thomas Muir. He was arrested and brought to trial on a charge of 'leasing,' or disloyalty—an old Scots offence—and of sedition. There was no pretence of a fair trial. The jury was

packed to convict. The prisoner's witnesses were bullied, and one even sent to prison. The presiding Judge, Lord Braxfield, was a coarse, overbearing political partisan. He informed the jury that 'the British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better.' Muir, he said, 'was poisoning the minds of the common people, and preparing them for rebellion.' The jury unanimously found the prisoner guilty, and he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation at Botany Bay. A few weeks after the Rev. Thomas Palmer, an English Unitarian minister, received seven years for a like offence. But the formation of political associations went on. The meetings were held in secret, and the action of the Government led to threats of force. Thereupon three prominent members of the Society of United Scotsmen were arrested—Skirving, Gerrald, and Margarot—and each was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. The methods adopted in these trials led to fierce debates in Parliament. 'God help the people who have such Judges!' was the comment of Fox. This set of trials closed with those of Downie and Watt on charges of high treason. They were accused of having formed a conspiracy to upset the Government, set Edinburgh on fire, rob the banks, and put the Judges in gaol. Both were convicted, but Downie was respited, and Watt, who had once served as a Government spy on the reformers, alone suffered the revolting death of high treason. For the time being the reform movement was discouraged.

7. *Scotland and the War.*—Presently the nation

had other things to think of. The successes of the armies of the French Republic roused a fear of invasion. Interest in reform and sympathy with the French people gave place to patriotic enthusiasm. Volunteer companies for defence were formed all over the country. In the great struggle which for twenty years convulsed Europe, and in its second stage passed into national resistance to the conquering genius of Napoleon, Scotsmen played an indispensable part. Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir John Moore restored the fighting efficiency of the British army. They forged the weapon with which Wellington later cut his way to victory. Sir Charles Stuart, a son of the Earl of Bute, was the most brilliant British officer of the first period of the war. Sir Thomas Graham Lord Lynedoch, Sir John Hope, and others of the school of Abercromby, were able lieutenants of Wellington.

8. *Distress after the War.*—But the war left every country which had shared in it exhausted and impoverished or burdened with debt. Britain had suffered a succession of bad harvests, and the natural scarcity was increased by the heavy tax on foreign corn. The National Debt was swollen to an enormous size. There was a tax on everything in use. When, on the conclusion of peace after Waterloo (1815), wheat became cheaper, a new Corn Law forbade its importation till the price at home rose to £4 a quarter—a famine price, double what it had usually been during the years 1760-1790. Commerce, too, suffered. Foreign nations needed time and money to replace their losses. The demand for British manufactures slackened. Prices fell, and

many tradesmen were ruined. Employment was lessened. The improvements in industrial machinery displaced the hand-worker or reduced his wages. The widespread spinning-wheel industry was ruined. In the mills women and children took the place of men. The power-loom, first applied to cotton, but afterwards to the other textiles, threw thousands of the once prosperous hand-loom weavers out of work or steadily cut down their earnings. In Glasgow they tried to combine to raise the rate, but this was against the law, and some of the leaders were imprisoned.

9. *Revival of the Reform Movement.*—It was the deep social distress that brought the reform movement back to life. The abuses still existed, but hunger and unemployment were added to them. The previous agitation had raised up a Whig party in Scotland. In 1802 was founded the *Edinburgh Review*, conducted by some of the brilliant young men of the capital—Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham and an Englishman, Sydney Smith. It became distinctly Whig in tone, and the Tory writers seven years later started a magazine in the interests of their own party and the Dundases,* the *Quarterly Review*. Its most notable contributor was Walter Scott, a member of the Bar, and a successful poet, soon to become, as a novelist, the foremost literary figure in the country. But the seat of most activity in the cause of reform was in the West. The Government was alarmed by the report of a great organization among the weavers. They set a spy to work, who attended the meetings and provided them with information.

* In 1802 Henry Dundas became Viscount Melville.

10. *More Political Trials* (1817).—Two arrests were made—Alexander Maclaren, a weaver, and Thomas Baird, a grocer. Maclaren was a skilled workman who had held a good position, but under changed conditions could now, by working fifteen hours a day, make only five shillings a week. He had been a sergeant in a volunteer company. Baird had been a Captain, but was also a steady advocate of reform. At an open-air meeting at Kilmarnock Maclaren had urged those present to petition the King. If he refused to listen to their grievances, then, he said, their allegiance was at an end. Baird had printed and published this speech. The sentence on both was six months' imprisonment. Contrasted with the trials of twenty-three years before, this result was a victory for the reformers. The cases which followed were certainly so. Neil Douglas, a preacher, had in his sermons compared George III to Nebuchadnezzar—the King being now actually insane—and the pleasure-loving Prince Regent to his doomed son Belshazzar. Seats in the House of Commons, he declared, were bought and sold like bullocks in the market, which was literally true. On trial, the case for the prosecution collapsed, and Douglas was acquitted. The Government next took up a charge against Andrew McKinlay, another Glasgow weaver. He was accused of administering an unlawful oath. This oath had been made known by the Government spy as the means of holding together a secret conspiracy in Glasgow. The person who took it swore to work for the conferring of 'the elective franchise at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation and annual Parliaments,' and

that he would support the brotherhood to the utmost of his power, 'either by moral or physical strength, as the case may be.' The Government agents tried to bribe one of the prisoners to turn King's evidence. In the box he described how this had been done. The Lord Advocate thereupon abandoned the case, and a verdict of 'Not proven' was returned. But, with a slight improvement in trade, the reform movement again quietened down, and for the next two years peace reigned in Scotland. Early in 1820 George III died.

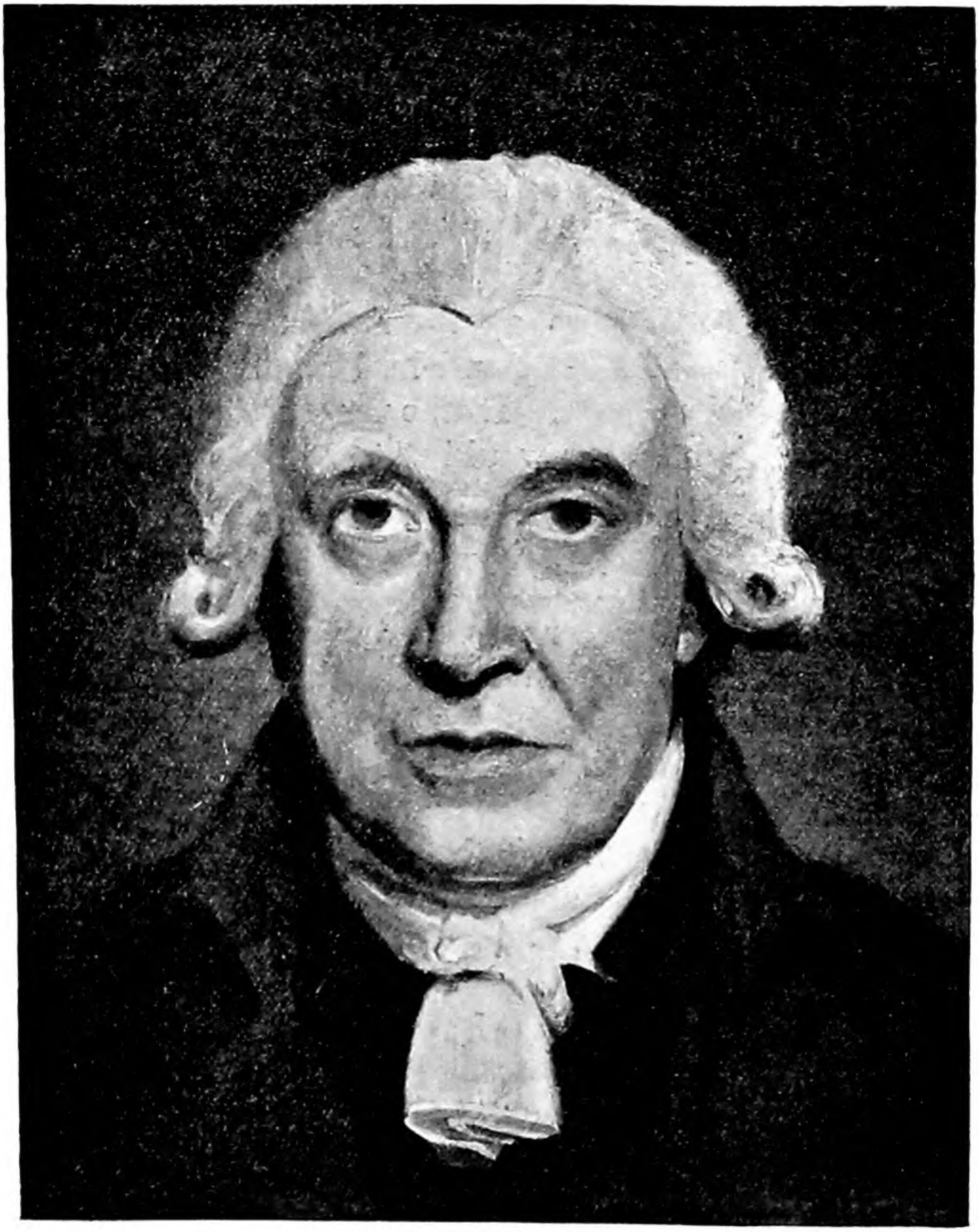
CHAPTER XL

THE ERA OF REFORM—THE DISRUPTION: GEORGE IV (1820); WILLIAM III (IV) (1830); VICTORIA (1837)

1. *'The Radical War'* (1820).—The new reign opened stormily. George IV was unpopular. The reform movement had drawn to its ranks many able thinkers and workers both in England and Scotland. But the Tory Government would make no concession. Among the industrial population there was still much distress. The note of revolt was again sounded. The more extreme reformers were now known as 'Radicals.' Late in March notices were fixed up in Glasgow, Paisley, and other western towns. By order of the 'Committee of Organization for forming a Provisional Government' all persons were called upon to give up working until every man was granted the right 'of giving consent to the laws by which he is governed.'

A general strike began. In Glasgow and the neighbouring districts 60,000 men went idle. Arms were seized and made. There was drilling in the night. On Wednesday, April 5, a rising was to begin. By that day 5,000 troops had been massed in the streets of Glasgow. A cavalry charge scattered the only attempt at organized attack. But at Bonnymuir, near Falkirk, there was a brief skirmish between the 'Radicals' and the yeomanry. The general strike had affected Stirling, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Paisley, and Ayr. At these places courts were held for the trial of arrested ringleaders. In all twenty-four were sentenced to death, but only three suffered the penalty. The East, not so much troubled by industrial distress, showed its sympathy with reform in a more orderly fashion. A great public meeting held later in the year in the Pantheon of Edinburgh passed resolutions against the Government, Francis Jeffrey taking the lead. A petition supporting the resolutions was signed by 17,000 persons. 'A new day dawned on the official seat of Scotch intolerance.'

2. *Rise of the Coal and Iron Industries.*—Meantime a development of industry was taking place along new lines. The discovery of the rich 'black-band ironstone' early in the century opened up a large source of wealth to Scotland. As the seams were mostly in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire these districts were soon covered with ironworks. A great demand followed for coal to be converted into coke for smelting purposes. But in less than thirty years the invention of the 'hot-blast' by Neilson allowed of the direct use of coal with iron. This was of



Emery Walker.

JAMES WATT (1736–1819).

From the painting by Charles Frederick de Breda in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

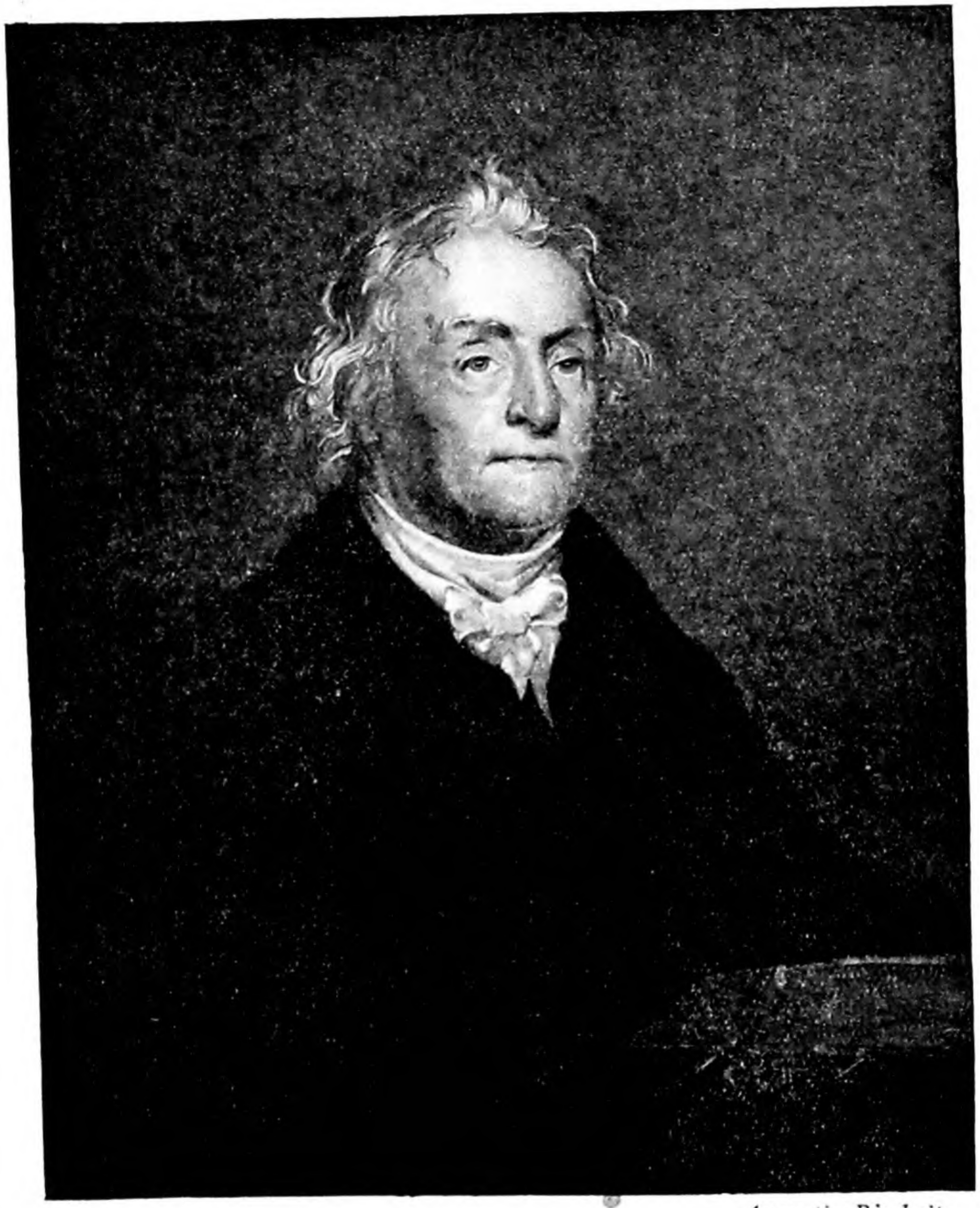
enormous advantage to both industries. The West of Scotland, and especially Glasgow, became a chief seat for the manufacture of machinery now being applied in all directions. The greatest of all the iron products for Scotland was foreshadowed by the appearance of the first steamer on the Clyde, the *Comet*, launched for Henry Bell of Helensburgh in 1811. Five miles an hour was its top speed. Three years later Scotland had five steam-vessels, and England not one. It was then thought that the engines of a steamer would not stand the open sea. But in 1818 David Napier built the *Rob Roy*, which traded from Greenock to Belfast. Shortly after the second *Comet* plied between Glasgow and Inverness. The first iron steamer was constructed on the Clyde in 1827, but not till the close of this period did the use of iron in building ships become general. Thus the lead in Scottish shipbuilding passed from Leith to Glasgow. Since the last years of the eighteenth century the work of deepening the Clyde by dredging had gone steadily on. Land transit, too, received a great development. Telford's highways, Rennie's iron bridges, and Macadam's method of improving the surface of roads, made all sorts of travelling easy and rapid. Stage-coaches ran regularly between all the chief towns. The Caledonian Canal was opened in 1822. Above all, George Stephenson, a Northumbrian pit-worker, had, in the first quarter of the century, put Watt's pumping-engine upon wheels, and so formed the steam locomotive. After that the spread of railways took, for some years, the form of a craze.

3. *Sheep and Kelp in the Highlands.*—The High-

lands had its share of both industrial wealth and distress. Sheep-farming on a large scale with improved breeds had begun in 1763. Thereafter it proceeded rapidly. It was a profitable business for farmer and landlord, but the peasantry had to make way for the sheep. One track of country after another was 'cleared' for the 'four-footed people.' In 1792 the people of Ross and southern Sutherland assembled to drive the sheep out of these counties. This had to be checked by the bringing of soldiers from Fort George. 'Clearances' in Sutherland were carried out on a large scale, and led to much cruelty and hardship. The people crowded into fishing villages on the shore. Emigration became almost a yearly event in the Highlands. On the West, however, and in the islands there was a contrary development. Riches were found in the rich seaweed of their shores. It was burned into kelp, and from the kelp was extracted the soda used in glass and soap works. A cheaper method of making this soda from common salt had already been invented, but the high duty on salt still rendered it more expensive than kelp. The population of the West Highlands became kelp-burners. The more people there were the more kelp, and so their numbers increased beyond what the land itself could provide for. Agriculture was neglected, yet rents rose, but kelp paid for all. Then came the crash. In 1822 the salt duty was repealed. The price of kelp at once fell to half, and went on falling. Highland lairds were ruined, and historic and extravagant chiefs, such as Clanranald, had to dispose of their estates. An overcrowded population burdened with

'kelp-rents' had again to find an outlet across the sea.

4. *The Whigs in Office.*—The closing years of George IV's reign saw the first breach in the ranks of the Tory Government. In 1827 the liberal-minded George Canning was chosen Prime Minister. He was favourable to Catholic Emancipation, and the leading Ministers, such as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, therefore resigned office. With them went the second Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, who had succeeded his father, 'Old Harry Dundas,' in the management of Scottish affairs. This proved to be 'the extinction of the word Melville' in high politics. In 1829 Catholic Emancipation was accomplished with the approval of both parties in Scotland, as well as that of the rising leader of the Evangelical party in the Church, Thomas Chalmers. The following year saw the accession of William IV, and the Whig party in power. Francis Jeffrey became Lord Advocate. The policy of the Whigs was, of course, reform. Nowhere was it more needed or clamoured for than in Scotland. The population had now increased to more than 2,300,000, yet the number of voters had actually decreased. Half the country voters were 'paper barons,' owning the necessary land on paper only (see Chapter XXXIX, § 5). Glasgow, with a population of 147,000, shared a member with Renfrew, Rutherglen, and Dumbarton. Other large towns of recent growth, such as Paisley and Kilmarnock, had not even a share in a member. Political feeling ran high. The elections often ended in serious rioting, not infrequently in a duel.

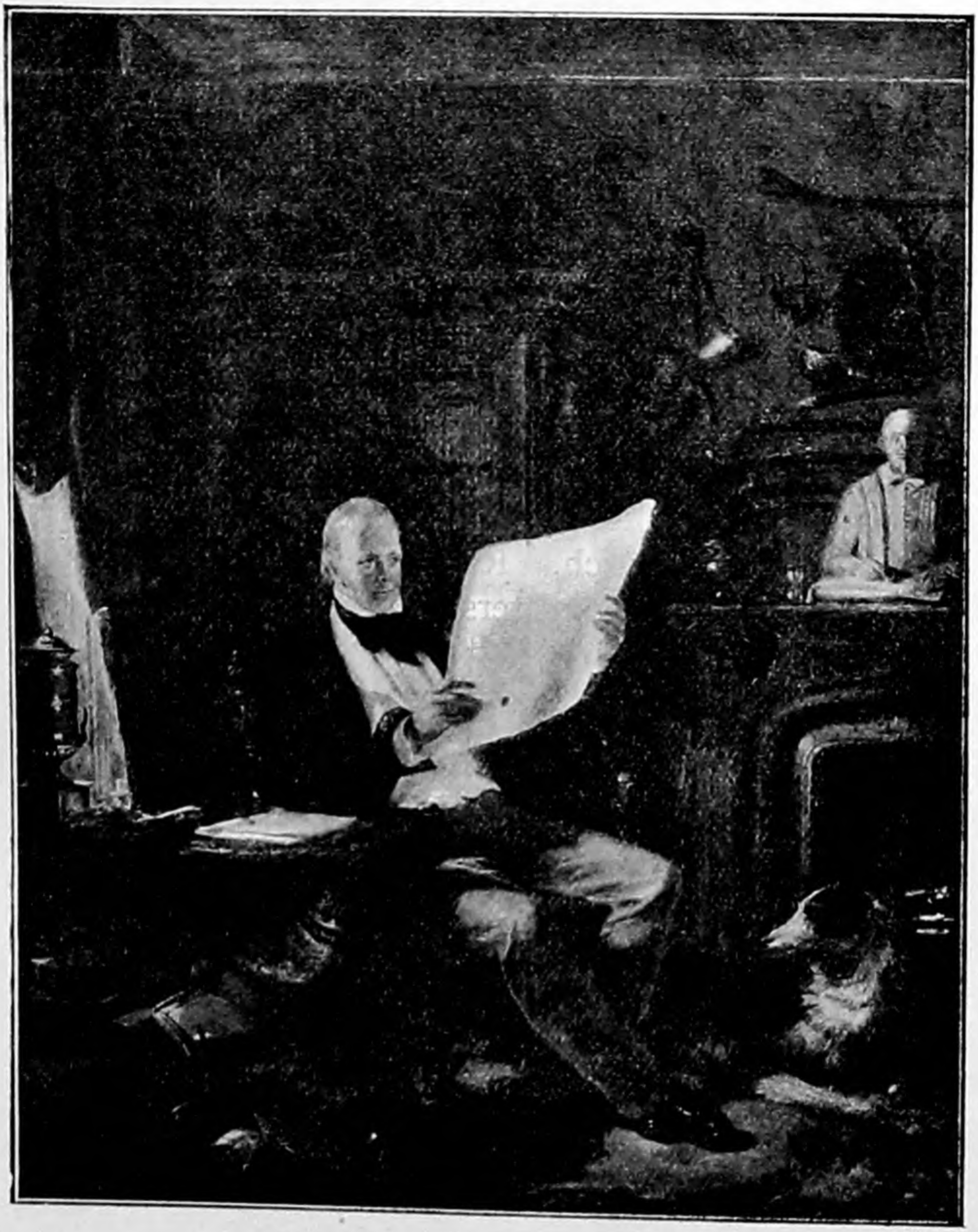


Augustin Rischgitz.

THOMAS CHALMERS (1780–1847)

From an engraving of the portrait by Thomas Duncan, A.R.A., R.S.A.

5. *The Reform Bills.*—The first Reform Bill was introduced in March, 1831. Petitions from Scotland in its favour "whitened the benches like a snow-storm.' It passed the second reading by a majority of one only, and the Government dissolved. Thirteen of the Scottish members had voted for the Bill. The elcction was marked by scenes of furious riot. Sir Walter Scott, returning from Jedburgh, where he had voted for the Tory candidate, was met with cries of 'Burke (murder) him!' When Mr. Dundas was chosen for Edinburgh instead of Jeffrey, the crowd received the result with shouts of 'Down with the Dundases!' and the Provost narrowly escaped being thrown over the North Bridge. Scotland returned a small majority for the Whigs. The new Bill passed its second reading in the House of Lords on April 14, 1832. The news anxiously waited for was brought to Edinburgh next day, Sunday, by an express coach and four horses, which 'had posted down in the short space of thirty-six hours.' But the Lords wrecked the Bill at its next stage. Popular indignation revived, and the royal family were roundly abused in Scotland—a sure sign to the Lord Advocate that discontent was deeply planted. In the end the Lords yielded and the third Reform Bill became law. The Scottish Bill followed on July 17, 1832, and brought Scotland eight additional members. A few weeks after the 'Reform Jubilee' was celebrated in Edinburgh. Combinations of workmen were no longer illegal, and the rejoicings with processions, bands, flags, and trade symbols were carried through by the Trades Council. In the election which followed



SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART. (1771–1832).

From the painting by Sir William Allan, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Scotland returned forty-four Whigs and nine Tories. Yet the Reform Bill was a triumph only for the middle classes. The great body of workmen and the agricultural labourers were still without votes. Glasgow now had two members instead of a fourth of one, but its voters were very few compared with the population. In the new Parliament the reform of the burgh system was easily accomplished. Henceforward the councillors were elected by the townsmen. In 1846 the trading privileges of royal burghs and burghs of barony were abolished.

6. *Patronage and the Disruption* (1843).—The assertion of popular rights was also making itself heard in the Church. Resistance to the presentation of unpopular ministers had not been encouraged by the Moderates. But these were now in a minority. Thomas Chalmers, the ablest man in the Church, became the leader of the Evangelical party. While the Moderates had laid stress upon lawful presentation and the observance of the Patronage Act, the Evangelicals maintained that the consent of the majority of a congregation was necessary to any settlement. In 1834 they were able to secure the passing of the Veto Act by the General Assembly, which instructed Presbyteries to reject anyone presented to a charge who should be disapproved of by a majority of the members of the congregation. When the presentee to the parish of Auchterarder was thus rejected he appealed to the Court of Session. That Court decided that the action of the Presbytery was contrary to the Patronage Act, and ordered that the settlement should be carried through. This judgment was

upheld by the House of Lords. A similar case occurred in connexion with the Presbytery of Strathbogie. When the Presbytery decided to obey the civil court against the instruction of the Assembly, the seven ministers of the majority were deposed. The Court of Session granted an interdict against the deposition, and forbade interference with the ministers, or any holding of services by outsiders within their parishes. Thus the question of patronage was merged in the wider dispute as to the relation of the Church courts to those of the State. The Evangelicals claimed that the action of the civil courts was an interference with their 'spiritual' rights, and destroyed the historic independence of the Church of Scotland. The Moderates had all along urged that the Veto Act was beyond the power of the Church, and that the law, so long as it was the law, must be obeyed. There were various attempts at compromise, but the Government would take no decisive action. The result was the 'Disruption' of the Church. When the Assembly met in May, 1843, the majority tabled a protest, affirming that the conditions of Establishment now declared to be the law were contrary to 'the settlement of Church government effected at the Revolution, and solemnly guaranteed by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union.' Then with dramatic impressiveness they left the hall in a body, and proceeded to constitute themselves, with all who should adhere to them, the 'Free' Church of Scotland. Four hundred and fifty ministers and a large section of the people, mainly drawn from the middle and working classes of the towns, formed the new Church. In the

Highlands, where the Moderate ministers, for personal reasons and their attitude towards the 'clearances,' were generally unpopular, the great bulk of the population came out. The Patronage Act, which had cost the Church so dear, was repealed in 1874.

THE STEWARTS

ALAN,
Steward (*dapifer*) to the Count
of Dol and Dinan at Dol, Brittany

ALAN,
dapifer: in
First Crusade, 1097

FLAALD,
c. 1101

ALAN FITZ-FLAALD,
sett'ed in England
by Henry I

JORDAN,
dapifer

WILLIAM FITZ-ALAN

The Earls of Arundel
merged in Dukedom
of Norfolk

WALTER FITZ-ALAN,
brought to Scotland by
David I
Steward (*dapifer*) to the
King of Scotland.
Died 1177
Founder of Paisley Abbey

ALAN THE STEWARD
(*senescallus*)

WALTER,
first to adopt name of
office as surname
(Alexander II)

ALEXANDER,
1214-83.
Regent in minority of
Alexander III

JAMES,
1243-1309

WALTER,
m. Marjory Bruce

ROBERT II

THE BRUCES

ROBERT DE BRUS,
of Skelton and Cleveland
in Yorkshire, died about 1080

ROBERT DE BRUCE,
died 1141.
Got Annandale from David I

ADAM,
in Yorkshire

Line ended
in
heiresses

ROBERT,
'the Younger,'
2nd of Annandale,
and of Hert, Durham,
died 1190

ROBERT,
died before
father

WILLIAM,
3rd of Annandale
and of Haltwhistle
Northumberland

ROBERT,
'the Noble,' 4th of Annandale.
m. Isobel, 2nd daughter of David,
Earl of Huntingdon, brother of
William the Lion

ROBERT,
5th of Annandale,
'the Competitor,' died 1295

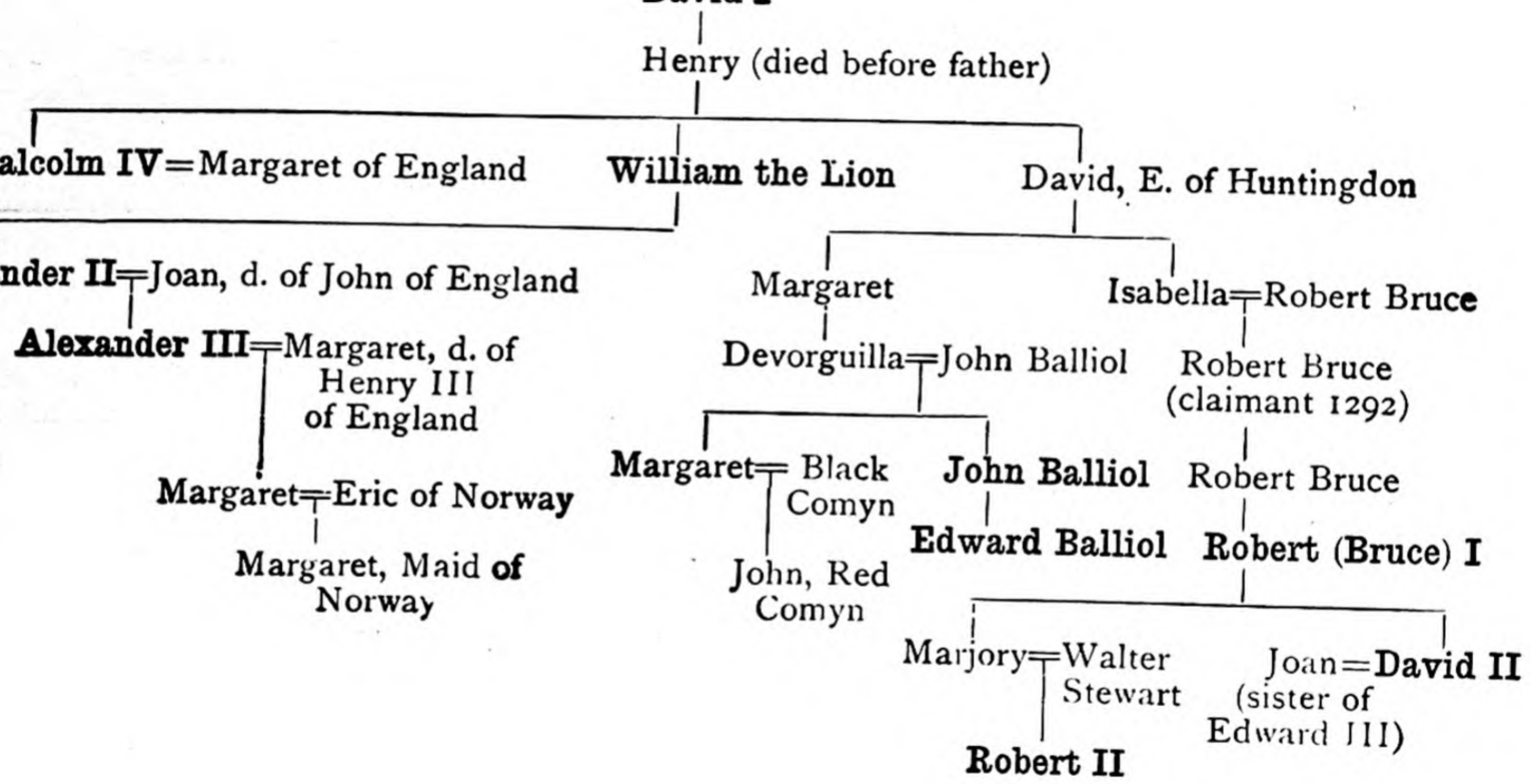
ROBERT,
6th of Annandale, and of
Cleveland in Yorkshire, m. Marjory,
Countess of Carrick, 1271, died 1304

ROBERT,
1274-1329, 7th of Annandale,
Earl of Carrick and King of Scotland

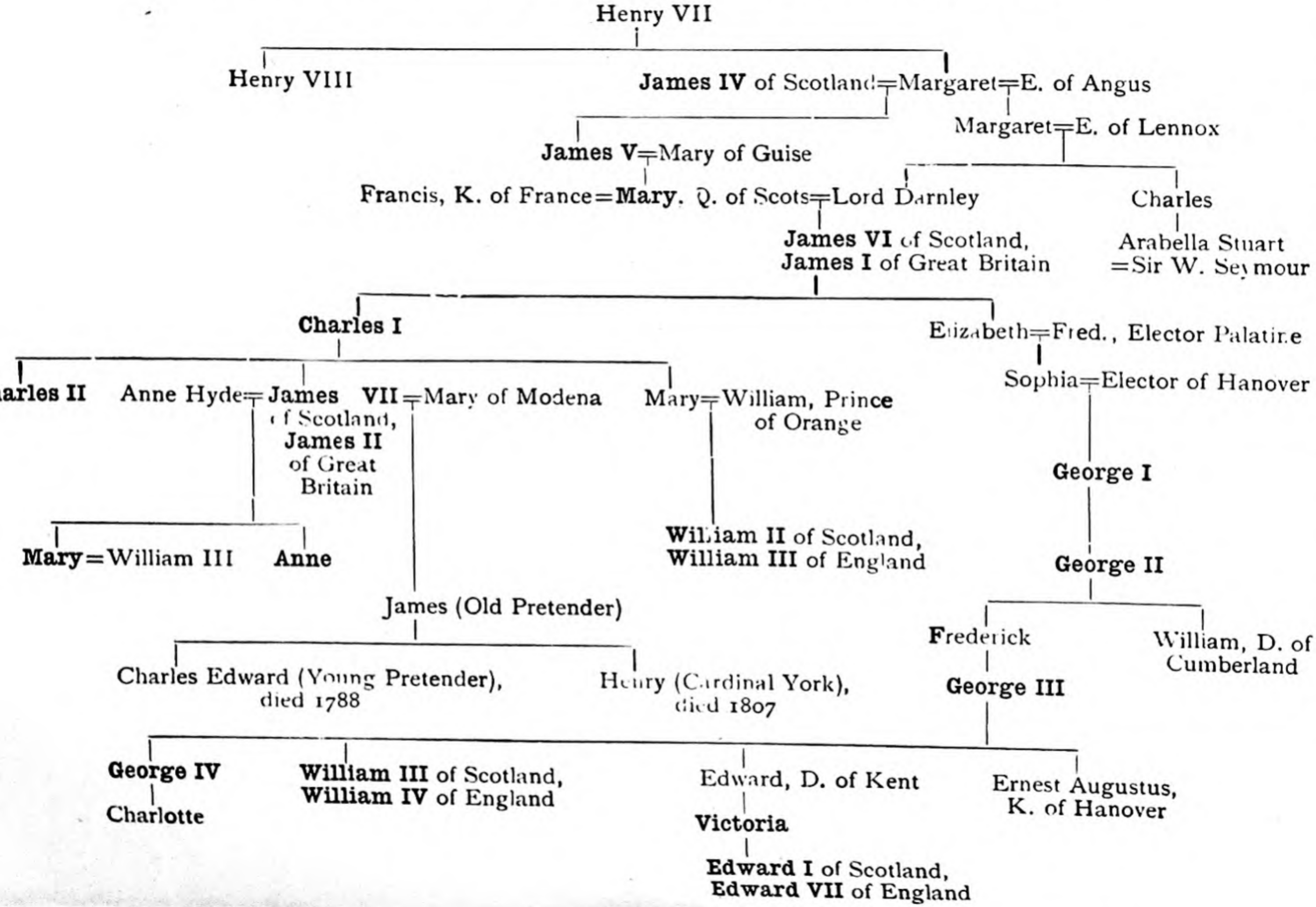
MARJORY,
m. Walter, the High Steward

DAVID II

THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION



THE STEWARTS AND HANOVERIANS


Henry VII
Henry VIII
James IV of Scotland=Margaret=E. of Angus
Margaret=E. of Lennox
James V=Mary of Guise
Francis, K. of France=Mary, Q. of Scots=Lord Darnley
Charles
James VI of Scotland, James I of Great Britain
Arabella Stuart =Sir W. Seymour
Charles I
Elizabeth=Fred., Elector Palatine
Charles II
Anne Hyde=James VII of Scotland, James II of Great Britain=Mary of Modena
Mary=William, Prince of Orange
Sophia=Elector of Hanover
George I
Mary=William III
Anne
William II of Scotland, William III of England
George II
James (Old Pretender)
Frederick
William, D. of Cumberland
Charles Edward (Young Pretender), died 1788
Henry (Cardinal York), died 1807
George III
George IV
Charlotte
William III of Scotland, William IV of England
Edward, D. of Kent
Ernest Augustus, K. of Hanover
Victoria
Edward I of Scotland, Edward VII of England

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